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"INDO-HITTITE" AND AREAL LINGUISTICS.

In *J. A. O. S.*, LXV (1945), pp. 51 ff., Professor A. Goetze published a note attacking an article on "The Position of Hieroglyphic Hittite among the Indo-European Languages," published by Professor I. J. Gelb, of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, and myself in the previous issue of the same Journal (LXIV [1944], pp. 169-90). Goetze writes (pp. 52 f.):

... the very title of the article of Gelb and Bonfante presupposes rejection of the Indo-Hittite hypothesis of Sturtevant which maintains that c[uneiform] H[ittite] (and h[ieroglyphic] H[ittite]) are sister languages of primitive I[ndo-]E[uropean].

The position of the two authors in this respect is made clear by the fact that they quote a number of articles on the position of c[uneiform] H[ittite] among the I[ndo-]E[uropean] languages and compile (fn. 1) a list of 12 scholars, in addition to 14 previously named, who have rejected the Indo-Hittite hypothesis [here fn. 9].¹ I myself am here listed as an opponent; but the quotation is from 1933. *In fact, no quotation (or almost none)*

¹I should have included also Schrijnen (*Collectanea Schrijnen* [Nijmegen-Utrecht, 1939], pp. 56, 80 ff.), Oštir (*ibid.*, pp. 42 ff.), and C. C. Uhlenbeck (*Oer-indogermaansch en oer-indogermanen* [Amsterdam, 1935: *Mededeel. der Kon. Akad. van Wetensch.*, LXXVII, serie A, no. 4], p. 2) who also rejects this theory with the specific mention of Sturtevant's name: "Voor mij althans staat het vast, dat het Hittitisch niet met Sturtevant buiten het eigenlijke Indogermaansch mag geplaatst worden, en dat het een Indogermaansche taal van het *centum*-type ist." ("For me, however, it is certain that Hittite may not be placed, as Sturtevant does, outside Indogermanic proper, and *that it is an Indo-germanic language of the centum-type*" [italics mine].)

With the 26 scholars previously mentioned, this makes a total of 29 (or 28, deducting now Goetze).

[italics mine] is later than 1939, and (more significant) none of the opponents—not even Bonfante himself—has ever expressed himself on what I regard as the *most important argument* [italics mine] in favor of the Indo-Hittite hypothesis. It is contained in an article of Sturtevant's in *Language* 15 (1939), 11-19 where it is shown that the pronoun *so-/to- of the I[ndo-]E[uropean] languages is an innovation the genesis of which is clarified by c[uneiform] H[ittite]. Sturtevant has thus fulfilled the demand, made e. g. by H. Pedersen (*Hittitisch und die anderen indogermanischen Sprachen* 12), to produce proof for a common innovation in the I[ndo-]E[uropean] languages. Until a flaw in this argument is shown, I consider it as the decisive argument in favor of the Indo-Hittite hypothesis.²

Since thus, firstly the decipherment of h[ieroglyphic] H[ittite] is not advanced enough to form a secure basis³ for com-

I owe the translation of this and of several other Dutch passages to the kindness of my friend Arthur Bigelow.

Cf. also Bártoli, *Atti dell'Accademia di Torino*, LXXII (1936-7), pp. 226, § 2; 228; Pisani, *Memorie dell'Accademia dei Lincei* (Classe di scienze morali), VI, 9, 2 (1940), pp. 303, 307, 317 f., 351 ff.

² I was recently obliged, by an attack of Sturtevant, to resume this question in *Class. Phil.*, XL (1945), pp. 117 f., where the reader will find more discussion. Since, however, Goetze stresses very strongly the argument based on Sturtevant's explanation of *só *sá *tód, I will here repeat my main points for the advantage of the reader:

1) C. Hittite *ta* is a *conjunction*, not a *pronoun*, like *só *sá *tód in all other Indo-European languages.

2) It is not at all proved that this C. Hittite conjunction *ta* has etymologically any connection with the I. E. stem *to- of *tód (Pedersen compares Slavic *da*; Couvreur, Skt. *átha* and Greek *ἐνθα*).

3) Even granted, for the sake of argument, that there is such a connection between the C. Hittite conjunction *ta* and the Indo-European pronominal stem *tó- of *tód, *tām, etc., it is quite unlikely that such a paradigm as *só *sá *tód developed from something like *tós, *tód, *tóm, *tām, etc. (from *to-os, *to-od, *to-om, etc., cf. Sturtevant, *Gramm. of Hittite*, pp. 198 ff.); the opposite (*tós, *tód, *tóm, *tām developed from *só *sá *tód) is on the contrary quite likely, since analogy works towards *uniformization*, not towards *differentiation* of forms: it is easy to explain a paradigm like *iter*, *iteris*, *itere* starting from *iter*, *itineris*, *itinere*; but it is impossible to explain *iter*, *itineris* starting from *iter*, *iteris*. Cf. Bonfante, *Word*, I (1945), pp. 133 ff.

4) Even granted, for the sake of argument, that there is such a connection between Hitt. *ta* and I. E. *tód, it is not proved that the pronoun derives from the conjunction, and not vice-versa (cf. e. g. Engl. *that*, Germ. *dasz*, Lat. *quia*, *quod*, Gr. *ὅτι*, Ved. *yád*, etc.).

³ On this problem of the "secure basis" see below, note 34.

parative work, and since, secondly, the initial position from which the two authors start out seems to be mistaken, all discussion on the position of h[ieroglyphic] H[ittite] among the I[ndo-]E[uropean] languages is just so much wasted effort.

In the absence of Gelb, who was serving his country in Europe, I answered several incorrect assertions of Goetze in *J. A. O. S.*, LXV, pp. 261 ff.; in particular I stressed first that Sturtevant's theory goes back not to 1939 (*Language*, XV, pp. 11 ff.), as Goetze states, but to 1927 (*J. A. O. S.*, XLVII, pp. 176 ff.); second that it has been analyzed and rejected not only by W. Petersen (*A. J. P.*, LIII [1932], p. 194, n. 4 and LVIII [1937], pp. 310 ff.), but also *after 1939*, with full knowledge of Sturtevant's article (*Language*, XV), by H. Pedersen in his book *Tocharisch*, in 1941. I will now deal here, since the subject unfortunately comes up again and again, with the problem (or rather "pseudo-problem," as Croce would say) of the so-called "Indo-Hittite."⁴

Contrary to what Goetze thinks (*loc. cit.*, p. 51), questions of method are of primary importance, especially in the investigation of dead languages. The method is our only guarantee of correctness.⁵ Now, the whole Indo-Hittite hypothesis is obviously

⁴ Sturtevant also claims that the "laryngeal theory" supports his "Indo-Hittite" hypothesis; he admits himself, however, in *Language*, XV (1939), p. 19, that "most scholars who have engaged in the study of Pre-Indo-European laryngeals" hold a "contrary opinion."

I personally have always rejected the laryngeal theory; cf. now *Class. Phil.*, XXXIX (1944), pp. 51 ff.; XL (1945), pp. 116 ff., with further bibliography.

The indications of areal linguistics are clearly opposed to the antiquity of laryngeals: first, Latin, the *isolated area*, shows no laryngeals; secondly, *the norm of the lateral areas* points to a Hittite innovation; cf. e. g.

Lat.	O.-Umb.	Gr.		C. Hitt.		Arm.	Iran.	Indo-Ar.
oss	?	oss		<i>bastai</i>		oss	oss	oss

By Latin *oss* I indicate the type with initial *o-*, as opposed to Hittite *ba-*.

⁵ Here (and at the end of the present article) I am obliged to repeat a few sentences of my note in *J. A. O. S.*, LXV (1945), pp. 263 f., because the aim of the present contribution is precisely to give the full demonstration (with material and bibliography) of my assertions in that note, which remained (I am afraid) a little dry and dogmatic. The editors of *J. A. O. S.* refused to publish my article in full because they

nothing but a belated survival or revival of Schleicher's stem-theory (*Stammbaumtheorie*), first presented by that author in his *Compendium der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen* (Weimar, 1861). According to Schleicher, the development of a language is quite comparable to that of the *stem* (German *Stamm*) of a tree: it splits first into two or three or more branches, and so on. So Indo-European, according to Schleicher, first split into a Germano-Balto-Slavic⁶ branch and into an Aryo-Greco-Italo-Celtic branch; one branch further split into Aryan (= Indo-Iranian) and Greco-Italo-Celtic; then Greco-Italo-Celtic into Greek and Italo-Celtic; Indo-Iranian into Indo-Aryan and Iranian; while the other branch split into Germanic and Balto-Slavic, and this into Baltic and Slavic. Italo-Celtic would further divide into Italic and Celtic, and Italic into Osco-Umbrian and Latin; this into Romanian,⁷

thought it would be in part out of place in a journal essentially devoted to *Oriental* studies.

⁶ To make the matter simpler I "modernize" slightly Schleicher's terminology, and write *Baltic* instead of Lithuanian, *Germanic* instead of German, *Indo-Aryan* instead of Indian. This changes in no way the *principle* of Schleicher's method, and this *principle* is the only thing I am interested in here. I do the same thing further on with Schmidt. I may remind the reader that some languages were not known in Schleicher's and Schmidt's times (Tocharian, Hittite, Hieroglyphic Hittite, Luwian, etc.) and that Armenian and Albanian had not yet been recognized as independent Indo-European languages.

⁷ This division of Latin into Romance languages, and of these into dialects, is taken not from Schleicher (who never dealt with living languages if he could help it, and of course stopped with "Italic" in his descent from Indo-European), but from Meyer-Lübke, *Einführung in die romanische Sprachwissenschaft*⁸ (Heidelberg, 1920), pp. 23 f. This makes no difference, however, because (especially on this point) Meyer-Lübke, like many German scholars, remained essentially within the mental framework of Schleicher, as the reader can see.

Long before 1920 (in 1900), the great German linguist Hugo Schuchardt had already shown that the application of the *Stammbaumtheorie* to the Romance languages is absurd; cf. *Hugo Schuchardt-Brevier*² (1928), pp. 166 ff., e.g. p. 166: "Das Bild eines Stammbaums, unter welchem wir uns die vergangene Entwicklung zusammengehöriger Sprachen vorzustellen pflegen, ist ein so anschauliches und scheint ein so treffendes zu sein dasz wir ein gewisses Bedauern empfinden wenn wir, zunächst nur in einigen Fällen, entdecken dasz es nicht sowohl wie *omne simile, claudicat*, sondern sich durchaus nicht auf den Füßen

Dalmatian, Reto-romance, Italian, Sardinian, Provençal, French, Spanish, Portuguese; then e. g. Spanish into Asturian-Leonese, Castilian, Aragonese, and Andalusian, and each of these into several patois, and so on. It is quite obvious that the idea itself of "Indo-Hittite" remains strictly within Schleicher's way of thinking: Indo-Hittite split into Hittite (or rather "Anatolian") and Indo-European: then Anatolian split into Cuneiform Hittite, Hieroglyphic Hittite, Luwian, Lycian, Lydian, and perhaps Armenian (cf. Sturtevant, *The Indo-Hittite Laryngeals* [Baltimore, 1942], pp. 23 and 29 f.); on the other side Indo-European will split into Balto-Slavic, Italo-Celtic and I don't know what other combination, in the manner indicated above.

Now Schleicher's theory has been analyzed and criticized by a series of great scholars, starting with J. Schmidt, Schuchardt, Àscoli, down to Gaston Paris, Gilliéron, Vendryes, Meillet, Terracini, Campus, Devoto, Bàrtoli, and many others; it is abandoned now by the vast majority of linguists, and is no longer *theoretically* defended (I believe) by any scholar.⁸ But,

halten kann. Einer dieser Fälle ist meiner Ansicht nach der der romanischen Sprachen." And see now the excellent article of Amado Alonso in *Miscellània Fabra* (Buenos Aires, 1943), p. 83, n. 1: "El número y quizá la importancia de los rasgos parientes estará siempre en razón inversa del número de los romances; mayor entre dos que entre tres, y mayor entre tres que entre cuatro" (which is exactly the case with the Indo-European languages too!); and p. 88: "En Francia, Suiza y norte de Italia, los dialectos franceses, los provenzales y los francoprovenzales y piamonteses forman un entretreído de caracteres, de modo que las transiciones geográfico-lingüísticas son muy graduales." See also Meillet-Tesnière, *Les langues dans l'Europe nouvelle*² (Paris, 1928), p. 21.

⁸ Cf. e. g. the good elementary manual of Indo-European linguistics by J. Schrijnen, *Einführung in das Studium der indogermanischen Sprachwissenschaft* (translated into German by W. Fischer, Heidelberg, 1921), p. 63: "Schleichers Stammbaumtheorie wird heute allgemein abgelehnt."

Naturally Schleicher is a scholar much to be respected; for his own time, he was doubtless in many ways remarkable. But the fact is that linguistic problems cannot be approached in 1945 the way they were in 1861.

One of the strongest attacks on Schleicher's *Stammbaumtheorie* was Hugo Schuchardt's classical article *Über die Klassifikation der romanischen Mundarten* (publ. 1900; cf. *Hugo Schuchardt-Brevier*², pp.

as frequently happens, theories which have been theoretically destroyed and discarded will still linger for a long time in an insidious fashion in the working methods even of some very good scholars, because the force of inertia is tremendously strong in man, and because it is quite a different thing, as is well known in every field of human activity, to *recognize a truth abstractly* and to *bring it into practice* and make out of it a daily tool of investigation.⁹ It sometimes takes generations to do this, es-

166 ff., especially pp. 171 f.: "Was aber dann für die jüngste Generation, für die Wipfel des Stammbaums gilt, gilt jedenfalls auch für früheren, da die gleichen Bedingungen immer vorhanden gewesen sind; und zwei Sprachvarietäten können nicht erst unabhängig sich entwickelt und, wenn sie fertig waren, einander beeinflusst haben, sondern diese Wechselwirkung hat mit der Divergenz selbst ihren Anfang genommen. Wir verbinden die Äste und Zweige des Stammbaums durch zahllose horizontale Linien, und er hört auf ein Stammbaum zu sein. . . . Ein solcher Wunderbaum, der doch weite Schatten werfen müsste, ist indessen, so viel ich weisz, noch nicht entdeckt"). See now also e.g. Altheim, *Epochen der römischen Geschichte* (Frankfurt a. M., 1934), pp. 20 f.; *A History of Roman Religion* (London, 1938), pp. 11 f.; Bártoli, *A. Gl. It.*, XXVI (1934), pp. 20 ff.; XXVII (1935), p. 103, n. 19; Van Ginneken, *Atti del III Congresso Internazionale dei Linguisti* (Rome, 1933, publ. Florence, 1935), pp. 30, 32, 40; Pisani, *Rivista Indo-Greco-Italica*, XVI (1932), pp. 88 ff., 91; Pokorny, *I. F. A.*, XXXIX (1921), p. 79; Debrunner, *I. F.*, XLVIII (1930), p. 312; Devoto, *Gli antichi Italici* (Florence, 1931), pp. 46 ff.; Hermann, *G. G. A.*, CLXXX (1918), pp. 343 f., 358 ff. (especially p. 361: "Gleichwohl bemühen sich manche Sprachforscher, als hätten sie Scheuklappen, darum, eine genaue genealogische Einteilung der griechischen Mundarten zu finden. Sie ist nicht auffindbar, die Mundarten sind nicht so einfach zustande gekommen. War das aber etwa nur hier so? Man darf vermutlich diesen Fall ruhig verallgemeinern! Die Stammbaumtheorie ist überwunden oder sollte es wenigstens sein. Hat es nicht genügt, dass sie Schuchardt für das Romanische, J. Schmidt für das Indogermanische erledigt hat, muss sie bei den Gräzisten immer noch spuken und auch sonst noch in der Sprachwissenschaft wie in der vorliegenden Schrift); I. Iordan, *Introduction to Romance Linguistics* (translated by John Orr, London, 1937), p. 52, n. 1; F. Specht, *K. Z.*, LII (1934), p. 29.

⁹ Prof. R. Jakobson writes e.g. in his admirable paper in the *Actes du IV^e Congrès International de Linguistes* (Copenhagen, 1936; published 1938), p. 48, precisely in relation to Schleicher's doctrine: "Comme il arrive souvent dans l'histoire de la science, malgré l'abolition d'une théorie surannée, il en subsiste pas mal de résidus, échappés au contrôle de la pensée critique. . . . la doctrine du grand naturaliste en linguistique [Schleicher] est ébranlée depuis longtemps, mais il en restent [sic] maintes survivances. Même chez ceux qui ne prennent plus

pecially in sciences (like linguistics) which are not experimental, and where the control of the mistakes lies on purely methodological grounds. This makes it, however, the more imperative to clear the field of these old, harmful residues and to reveal their true nature. Otherwise, all scientific progress becomes impossible.

The criticism which has been leveled at Schleicher's theory is precisely that languages are neither *stems* nor *branches*; their life and development has nothing to do with that of trees. Languages are spoken by men, who are in constant contact with each other, exchange constantly ideas, feelings, objects, words, and influence one another's speech. Languages are historical creations, not vegetables. Schleicher's theory entirely ignores history and geography and fails to give a real picture of any existing linguistic reality. It can be upheld only by doing violence to the facts as they appear every day in front of us, as they are familiar to everyone. We shall take some examples from the Indo-European languages themselves, although of course any other family of languages could furnish just as good material for our thesis. If a scholar accepts e.g. the "*Balto-Slavic*" group (as some scholars still do) he will do justice only to the *Balto-Slavic* isoglosses (which certainly exist); but he will be obliged either to neglect entirely or to deny or to attribute to "chance" the isoglosses which connect on one side *Baltic* (but not always *Slavic*) with *Germanic*, such as e.g. the formation of the numerals "11" and "12" (e.g. Gothic *ain-lif*, *twalif*: Lithuanian *vienúo-lika*, *dvý-lika*; type 2d plur. *vėžate* with *a*, etc.); on the other side, *Slavic* (but not always *Baltic*) with *Iranian* (such as the locative plural ending *-su*, the treatment of the Indo-European velars [**k* > *s*, **g* > *z*, **gh* > *z*], **is*, **us*, etc. > *iš*, *uš*, etc., and many others).¹⁰ But if, on the basis of the

au sérieux la généalogie simpliste des langues, l'image du *Stammbaum*, selon la remarque juste de Schuchardt, reste malgré tout en vigueur."

¹⁰ On the connections between Slavic and Iranian see J. Schmidt, *Verwandschaftsverhältnisse*, pp. 13 ff.; Meillet, *Les dialectes indo-européens*² (Paris, 1922), pp. 15 ff. of the *Avant-propos*; 127 ff. of the text; Bonfante, *I dialetti indoeuropei* (Naples, 1931), pp. 85 ff.; *Rendiconti del R. Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere*, XLIII, 11-15 (1930), pp. 4 ff. (Adunanza del 22 maggio 1930).

On the connections between Baltic and Germanic see e.g. Bonfante, *Dialetti*, pp. 89 ff., 109 ff.

last coincidences, we construct a *Slavo-Iranian* group, we have then to separate *Slavic* from *Baltic*, *Iranian* from *Indo-Aryan*—which also is obviously wrong. No matter how we twist the existing linguistic material,¹¹ as long as we stick to Schleicher's doctrine, the result will always be wrong, simply because the doctrine itself is anti-historical, because the image of the tree does not fit human facts.¹² Languages, in Schleicher's system, are abstract entities, located in the air, far from earth, far from every reality, outside of every geographic localization. Whether Slavic is located to the East or to the West of Baltic, whether it

If we compare e.g. the treatment of the velars, we will immediately see how close Iranian and Slavic stand, and how absurd both the "Indo-Iranian" and the "Balto-Slavic" group are:

Latin	Lithuanian	OCSlavic	Avestan	Sanskrit
centum	ši̯ntas	sŭto	satəm	śatám
gnōscō	žinoti	znati	zānənti	jānāti
humus	žemė	zemlja	zam-	j̥mās, gmās
hiems	žiemà	zima	zim-	hīmā

It is easy to see that the Slavic treatment is not *similar*, but *identical* to the Iranian one, and that the Slavo-Iranian area is the center of the innovation *s, z* (more recent than the *š, ž* phase and, *a fortiori*, than the *j* [= *dž*], *g* and *h* phases).

¹¹ Cf. Schmidt, p. 17: "Man mag sich also drehen und wenden wie man will, so lange man an der anschauung fest hält, dass die in historischer zeit erscheinenden sprachen durch mehrfache gabelungen aus der ursprache hervorgegangen seien, d. h. so lange man einen *stammbaum der indo-germanischen sprachen* annimmt [*italics mine*], wird man nie dazu gelangen alle die hier in frage stehenden tatsachen wissenschaftlich zu erklären. Der ganze charakter des slawolettischen bleibt unter diser voraussetzung unbegreiflich. Verständlich wird er nur, wenn wir anerkennen, dass das slawolettische weder vom arischen noch vom deutschen losgerissen werden kann, sondern die organische vermittlung beider ist. Diese anerkennntniss nötigt uns die grammatik ab, zu *ir* zwingt uns auch der sprachschatz."

¹² Should there be the slightest doubt that Sturtevant's Indo-Hittite theory follows Schleicher's method closely (and there is none), it would be eliminated by Sturtevant himself, who clearly asserts (*The Indo-Hittite Laryngeals* [Baltimore, 1942], p. 24, n. 16): "This state of affairs suggests a longer period of *separate development* [of Hittite] than Skt. and Gk. had passed through, in other words, earlier separation from the parent stock"; and even more, "We may be certain then, that Hitt[ite] is related to the I[ndo]-E[uropean] languages only through common descent from I[ndo]-H[ittite]"; the first statement also appears in *Language*, XV (1939), p. 11.

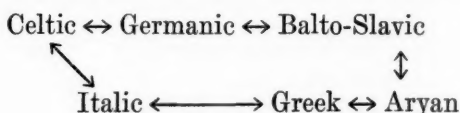
is placed in the North or in the South of the Indo-European area is entirely immaterial for the stem-theory.¹³

But even in 1872, eleven years after Schleicher's *Compendium*, a great German scholar, Johannes Schmidt, published his wonderful pamphlet *Die Verwantschaftsverhältnisse der indogermanischen Sprachen* (Weimar), in which he proposed an entirely new doctrine, the so-called wave-theory (*Wellentheorie*), which is, so to say, the opposite of the stem-theory. Schmidt has the permanent merit of having first introduced the *geographical* consideration into linguistics: he started to examine the relationship of the Indo-European languages to one another starting from their *respective position*: *Slavic*, geographically situated between *Baltic* and *Iranian*, has many traits in common with the first one, but many also with the second one: neither the first ones nor the second ones can be neglected: on the contrary Slavic is the *link* ("organische vermittlung," p. 17) between *Baltic* and *Iranian*.¹⁴ The same can be said e. g. of *Greek*, which shows some connections with *Italic* to the West and some others with *Aryan* (*Indo-Iranian*) to the East. The Indo-European languages build a chain, in which every link connects two other

¹³ Schleicher's theory is of course closely connected with the German "neo-grammarian" doctrine, against which Gilliéron and Bårtoli directed sharp criticism. The "neo-grammarian" principles and methods always met very strong opposition in the other European countries, such as Italy, France, Switzerland, Spain, England, Holland, Czechoslovakia, Norway, Denmark, Romania, etc. (by Ascoli, Gaston Paris, Campus, Bårtoli, Menéndez Pidal, Jud, Jaberg, Jakobson, Trubetskoy, Amado Alonso, Entwistle, Orr, Van Ginneken, Van Wijk, Sommerfelt, Hjelmslev, Brøndal, Iordan, to mention only a few), but were unfortunately well received in America, where the influence of German linguistics, especially in the Indo-European field, still largely holds sway. I have treated this problem in *P. M. L. A.*, LIX (1944), pp. 877 ff. and in *Romanic Review*, 1945, pp. 240 ff. But in Germany itself the "neo-grammarian" doctrines were strongly attacked by scholars like H. Schuchardt, K. Vossler, and L. Spitzer. See now on this problem Iordan, *Introduction*, pp. 15 ff., 383 ff., etc.

¹⁴ Cf. Schmidt, p. 13. "Wer aber diese tatsächliche übereinstimmung [the *satəm*-isogloss] ausschliesslich zwischen arisch und slawolettisch als ein werk des zufalls betrachtet [as Schleicher and all his followers must necessarily do, and as Bloomfield and others in effect did], der stellt sich ausserhalb der wissenschaftlichen discussion [italics mine]." We must not forget that the nature of Armenian and Albanian (both *satəm*) as independent Indo-European languages had not been recognized when Schmidt wrote these lines. Cf. also *Word*, I (1945), p. 90, n. 5.

links—the neighboring languages. There is no *split*, no *cut*, no one feature which splits in two the Indo-European domain: there are many linguistic coincidences, many isoglosses which have *all* to be taken into account; every language has *some* facts in common with one of its neighbors, but acquires its specific individuality by the *sum* of all these isoglosses—because its neighbors always lack some of them, although they present others, in common with other neighbors. The aspect of Indo-European linguistic connections according to Schmidt is illustrated by their geographic position, roughly like this:



Schmidt's theory ¹⁵ was a great discovery, one of the greatest in the linguistic science; he anticipated to a large extent the findings of linguistic geography, and first created, we can say, the linguistic method of investigation of kinship of languages. His conception was so deep and penetrating that, when new Indo-European languages were discovered or identified, it was easy to introduce them without any change in his scheme; so e. g. *Armenian* fits in perfectly in the above figure between *Aryan* and *Greek* ¹⁶ (it has many features in common with each of them separately, such as the type **eme* "me" with Greek, the passage **k > s* with Iranian) and *Albanian* between *Greek* and *Baltic*; and the same can be said of Cuneiform Hittite, Luwian, Lycian, and Lydian (see below).

Schmidt's theory applies of course not only to Indo-European but to any other group of languages: so e. g. in Romance we will

¹⁵ Of course, we have made some progress since Schmidt: we must now break up "Italic" into Latin and Osco-Umbrian, "Balto-Slavic" into "Baltic" and "Slavic," "Aryan" into Iranian and Indo-Aryan; these paper constructions "fallen . . . dem reiche des mythus anheim," as Schmidt said of "europäisch, nordeuropäisch, slawodeutsch, südeuropäisch, graecoitalisch, italokeltisch" (p. 28). But in so doing we only contradict Schmidt because we follow his thought: we apply better his own method, because we draw it further to its last logical conclusions.

¹⁶ On the relationship between Greek and Armenian see now Bonfante, *Mélanges Pedersen* (Aarhus, 1937), pp. 15 ff.; cf. also *idem*, *Dialetti indoeuropei*, pp. 128 ff.

easily observe a chain going from Portuguese to Sicilian, passing through Leonese, Castilian, Catalan, Provençal, Ligurian, Tuscan, Roman, Campanian, Lucanian, and Calabrese; Piedmontese is obviously an intermediary dialect between Italian and French; Corsican, between Tuscan and Sardinian; and the same can be said of the Slavic languages, where Bulgarian, Macedonian, Serbian, Croatian, Slovenian, Czech, Polish, White Russian, and Russian are connected with each other in the way indicated above.¹⁷

The investigation of linguistic kinship, of course, did not stop with Schmidt, but certainly started from Schmidt, not from Schleicher. With his *Atlas linguistique de la France*, at the beginning of our century, Gilliéron created a new and precious tool of linguistic investigation, which was followed by others (e. g. the Catalan, Italian, and Romanian Atlases). Gilliéron was followed by a series of distinguished scholars who applied his method with excellent results outside of France (to Italy, Romania, Germany, the Scandinavian and the Slavic countries, etc.). The theoretical conclusions of their work were drawn and condensed in a doctrine by the Italian Bàrtoli, who called it *areal linguistics*. This method was also applied to Indo-European by Vendryes¹⁸ (especially in *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique*, XX [1918], pp. 265 ff.), Meillet, and by the Italians Campus, Bàrtoli, Terracini, Devoto, and others.

One of the most important advances made by Gilliéron, Vendryes, and Bàrtoli beyond Schmidt is that they based the investigation of linguistic parentship only on innovations, and that they *studied the spread of these innovations*. This is again a principle which is admitted in theory by everybody, but constantly forgotten in *practice* by most scholars. Bàrtoli stresses

¹⁷ Bulgarian, on the other side, links up with Ukrainian (through Dobruja and Bessarabia) and Ukrainian again with Russian, so that the chain is entirely closed, exactly like the chain of the Indo-European languages in Schmidt's conception (I owe this indication to the kindness of my friend Roman Jakobson).

¹⁸ In this wonderful work, Vendryes pointed out that a series of important Indo-European words of religious or juridical character (such as *rēx*, *crēdō*, *lēx*, *iūs*, *flāmen*, *pūrus*, *cēnsēre*, *sepelīre*, etc.) are preserved only in Latin (also Celtic) on one side, Indo-Aryan (also Iranian) on the other.

it right at the beginning of his *Introduzione alla neolinguistica* (Geneva, 1925), p. 1: when we are confronted with two equivalent words¹⁹ (such as Greek $\pi\tilde{\upsilon}\rho$ "fire" = Latin *ignis* "fire") or forms (as the ending of Greek $\epsilon\pi\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ = Latin *sequor*) or sounds (the initial rough breathing of Greek $\epsilon\pi\tau\acute{\alpha}$ = the initial *s-* in Latin *septem*), the first problem is to ask: *which is older?* We will then notice that when we find e.g. that the geographic distribution of two *perfectly equivalent* words, or forms, or sounds, or syntactic expressions is something like the following:

A || B B || A

by far the greatest probability is that *A* is *older* than *B*, because *B* is a central *innovation* which has split and pushed to the sides the *older* phase or phenomenon *A*. This is a very simple and logical explanation; the opposite hypothesis is of course possible, but not at all likely, for we should then suppose that for some obscure reason in the two lateral areas (*A*) the same impulse moved men to produce the same innovation—in other words, we should admit that the coincidence is a matter of *chance*. If we consider that usually each *A* and each *B* represents hundreds of thousands or millions of speakers, the probability of this *chance* is the same as if we throw on a polished floor some hundreds of thousands (or millions) of white and black marbles and *by chance* all white marbles gather in the middle, all black marbles go to the sides.

The empirical confirmation of the correctness of this method

¹⁹ Of course, in this as in all other cases, I start (with Gilliéron and the neo-linguists) from *meaning*, or *function*, not from *form*; this is one of the fundamental differences between the Schleicherian-neo-grammarians and the neo-linguists. The things to compare have to be *exactly comparable*, that is, they must have exactly the same *function* in language. If a scholar starts from *form*, he will always remain concerned with more or less hypothetical *roots* and *families* of words, with more or less vague meanings; a method by which anything can be demonstrated. When we compare *ignis* and $\pi\tilde{\upsilon}\rho$, we are not concerned at first with the problem: "from what root do they come?" (perhaps the "root" may be found in Latin *pūrus*); but with the problem: "are they exactly equivalent in *meaning*?" (this is the procedure of the questionnaire of a linguistic Atlas); and then with the further problem: "which of the two is *older*? which is the *innovation*?" Linguists of the old school cannot see how the two words can be studied together, since they are not *etymologically related*.

is given by a comparison between Latin and the Romance languages. We are here in the fortunate situation that we already know, to a great degree, through other independent sources, the object we have to reconstruct (Latin) and we can therefore check the results of our method. They are as correct as can humanly be expected: in the vast majority of cases, the form preserved in the lateral areas (e. g. Spain and Romania) is *older* than the other one; cf. e. g.:

Spain	France	Italy	Romania
magis fortis	<i>plūs fortis</i>	<i>plūs fortis</i>	magis fortis
caput	<i>testa</i>	<i>testa</i>	caput
formōsus	<i>bellus</i>	<i>bellus</i>	formōsus
feruēre	<i>bullire</i>	<i>bullire</i>	feruēre

Every Latinist knows that—in the sense of “stronger,” “head,” “beautiful,” “to boil,”—the forms *magis fortis*, *caput*, *formōsus*, *feruēre*, are the older.

Sometimes, of course, the central innovation will have a greater, other times a smaller, power of expansion for reasons which have to be examined in each case. When it is very strong, it may also invade one of the lateral areas (usually Romania); Spain will then remain as an *isolated area*: it preserves alone the older form, as in the case of:

Spain	France	Italy	Romania
suus	<i>illōrum</i>	<i>illōrum</i>	<i>illōrum</i>
comedō (-esse)	<i>mandūcāre</i>	<i>mandūcāre</i>	<i>mandūcāre</i>
mētīrī	<i>mēnsūrāre</i>	<i>mēnsūrāre</i>	<i>mēnsūrāre</i>
foetēre	<i>pūtēre</i>	<i>pūtēre</i>	<i>pūtēre</i>

In this manner many old words, like *metus*, *uerrere*, *tenebrae*, *mūs*, *perna*, *malus*, *foedus*, etc., are preserved only, or almost only, in Spain.

If we now apply Schmidt's theory, instead of Schleicher's, to Cuneiform Hittite, we shall notice that it fits beautifully: *Cuneiform Hittite*, geographically located between *Greek* and *Armenian*, shares with them a series of important isoglosses,

most of them very likely innovations.²⁰ I will give here only a few examples:²¹

Lat.	O.-Umb.	Gr.	C. Hitt.	Lyd.	H. Hitt.	Lyc.	Arm.	Iran.	Ind.
mē	?	ἐμέγε	ἐμέγε	mē	mē	mē	mē	mē	mē
tū	tū	σύγε	σύγε	?	?	? ²²	tū	tū	tū

I indicate here by Latin *mē*, *tū* the languages that do not have a postposition *-ge after these pronouns: Cuneiform Hittite has the same postposition as Greek: *amuk*, *amug(a)*; *zik*, *zig(a)*; *tuk*, *tug(a)* (cf. Sturtevant, *Grammar of Hittite*, p. 195; Krahe, *Festschr. Hirt*, II, p. 565).

Greek

Lat.	O.-Umb.	Doric	Ionic	C. Hitt.	Arm.	Iran.	Ind. ²³
-mus	?	-mus	-men	-men	-mus	-mus	-mus

I indicate by Latin *-mus* all the forms which have an -s, to

²⁰ I therefore agree wholeheartedly with Walter Petersen, a brilliant American scholar, too soon deceased, who was not appreciated as he deserved; he wrote in *A. J. P.*, LIII (1932), p. 194: "One may even go a step farther, and say that unless clear and certain examples of Hittite retaining a pre-Indo-European phenomenon are much more frequent than now known [which is certainly not the case], the probability is much greater that in case of a form not readily interpreted Hittite is the innovator." The whole article, as all contributions of the late Walter Petersen, is very important, and strongly to be recommended to any scholar interested in these questions.

²¹ I use indifferently examples from lexicon, syntax, morphology, and phonology, following one of the fundamental principles of the neo-linguists: these subdivisions of linguistics have a purely *practical*, but no *scientific* value: cf. e. g. Campus, *Atti Accad. di Torino*, LIV (1919), pp. 116 ff. [= pp. 282 ff.]; *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, LXXII (1918), p. 160; Bàrtoli, *Introduzione*, pp. 100 f.; *Giorn. Storico*, LXVI (1915), p. 178; *A. Gl. It.*, XXVI (1934), p. 28, n. 150; *Actes du premier Congrès International de Linguistes* (La Haye, 1928; publ. in Leyden), p. 32; *Riv. Fil. Class.*, LVI (1928), p. 436, n. 1.

²² The H. Hittite, Lydian, and Lycian forms of the pronoun "thou" are unknown. These languages are cited here only because of the forms of the pronoun "I," which has no affix -γε in these tongues.

²³ Some of the isoglosses I present here are not exactly of the type indicated above, because the Northern Indo-European languages also have the type of the two Southern lateral areas, and therefore these are not strictly speaking separated from each other. But the case is essentially the same, because it is obvious that the Southern-central phenomenon is the innovation. The inverse would be quite strange. It is what

which obviously Armenian *-mkh*, Iranian *-mahi*, Indo-Aryan *-masi* also belong (Indo-Aryan has also *-mas*; cf. C. Hittite *-meni* and *-men*). Cf. Bonfante, *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, XVIII (1939), p. 384.

Greek

Lat.	O.-Umb.	Doric	Ionic	C. Hitt.	H. Hitt.	Lyc.	Arm.	Iran.	Ind.
-ti	-ti	-ti	-tsi	-tsi	-ti	-ti	-ti	-ti	-ti

I indicate by *-tsi* the languages²⁴ where **-ti* assibilates to *-tsi* (and sometimes further to *-si*). The 3d person singular or plural in *-ti* can be used as example. This isogloss and the preceding one cut through the Greek area, a fact which I think should not surprise any linguist who knows that languages are not monolithic blocks. See Bonfante, *Riv. Indo-Greco-Italica*, XV (1931), pp. 163 ff.

The three preceding isoglosses include *only Greek* (or a part of Greek) *and Cuneiform Hittite*, and constitute a precious proof of the close connection of these two languages—which of course does not rule out at all the other connections!

Lat.	O.-Umb.	Gr.	C. Hitt.	Lyd.	H. Hitt.	Lyc.	Arm.	Iran.	Ind.
mē	mē	ἐμέ	ἐμέ	ἐμέ	ἐμέ	ἐμέ	ἐμέ	mē	mē

Here I indicate with Lat. *mē* the languages in which the accusative of the pronoun "I" begins with *m-*, and with Greek *ἐμέ* the languages where it begins with a vowel, generally *e-* (C. Hittite *a* in *amuk*, *amuga* may represent either *e* or some sort

I call in another work (published in the new journal *Word*, I [1945], pp. 154 f.) the case of the *peripheric area* (preserving the older phenomenon). I will further develop this idea in another article.

²⁴ Cf. e.g. Greek *εἶσι*, Cun. Hittite *asanzi* in front of Latin *sunt*(i) (cf. *tremonti*), Oscan *sent*(i), Umbrian *sent*(i), Doric *ἐντι*, Sanskrit *sānti*, etc.

Hieroglyphic Hittite has *ti*, not *tsi*, cf. *aṭti*, *e(n)ti* "within," *muwa-tis*, etc. with the suffix *-ti-* of Greek *φύσις*. For Lycian cf. *miñti* (perhaps = I. E. **mñti*, cf. Lat. *menti-bus*), *ēti* (= Gr. *ἀντι*) and the many verbal forms (3d pers.) *aiti*, *tāti*, *pijeti*, *tuwetī*, etc. (cf. P. Meriggi, "Der Indogermanismus des Lykischen," *Festschrift Hirt* [Heidelberg, 1936], II, pp. 260, 272 ff., 276).

Hieroglyphic Hittite and Lycian (even apart from the fact that they are *satəm*) seem to be somewhat nearer to Armenian; Cun. Hittite seems to be nearer to Greek (especially Ionic). Lydian is very close to Greek; it has even **k^w* > *p*.

of *šva*, derived from **e*-; cf. *atweni*, *apantu*, *asanzi*, *wasanzi*, etc., from *et-*, *ep-*, *es-*, *wes-* etc.). Here, as can be seen, the expansion of the central innovation has been much stronger. Cf. also W. Petersen, *Language*, VI (1930), p. 169.

Lat. O-Umb.		Gr. C. Hitt.	Lyd.	Luw.	H. Hitt.	Lyc.	Arm.		Iran. Ind.
-m -m		-n -n	-n	-n	-n	-n	-n		-m -m

Most scholars admit, for another reason than the areal one, that *-m* is older than *-n*: cf. Greek *χαμαί*: *χθόν*.

Another morphological isogloss is possibly the following:

Lat. O-Umb.		Gr. C. Hitt.	Arm.		Iran. Ind.
-ei -ei		-ī -ī	? ²⁵		-ei -ei

The ending of the dative singular of the consonantic stems is **-ei* (or its representatives) in the lateral areas, **-ī* in Greek and Hittite; cf. e.g. Lat. *Apolenei*, *Virtutei*, *Hercolei*, *patri*, Oscan *paterei*, Greek *πατρί*, *πήχεϊ*, *ἄκρον*, *ρήτορι*, *νέφεϊ*, Hittite *ḫupari*, *assawi*, *ḫenkani*, *nepesi*, etc., Avestan *piθre*, *dāθre*, *vīse*, Indo-Aryan *pitṛé*, *mātré*, *vāčé*, *gmé*, etc. Cuneiform Hittite *i* can represent only Indo-European **ī*, not **ei*, which would be C. Hittite *e* (cf. Sturtevant, *Gramm. of Hittite*, pp. 100 f., 170 ff.).

Gender offers another good example of the areal distribution: some of the Southern Indo-European languages have three genders, some two, some no gender distinction whatever:

Lat. O-Umb. Gr.		Lyd. C. Hitt. H. Hitt. Arm.		Iran. Ind.
3 gend. 3 gend. 3 gend.		2 gend. 2 gend. 2 gend. no gend.		3 gend. 3 gend.

The lateral areas have preserved the old Indo-European 3 genders, which have been reduced in a central area; the maximum of the reduction has taken place in Armenian. A similar situation can be found in the Northern zone, where Lithuanian (with only two genders) is enclosed between Celtic and Germanic on one side, Slavic and Tocharian on the other, which all preserve the three genders.

Lat.		O-Umb. Gr. C. Hitt. Arm.		Iran. Indo-Ar.
ignis		πῦρ πῦρ πῦρ πῦρ		— ignis

This word is closely connected, in the Indo-European concep-

²⁵ Armenian may have had either **-ei* or **-ī*; we cannot tell any more. But whichever it may have been, the general picture does not change, nor the position of Hittite.

tion, with the word "water," with which it forms a couple (of animistic, sexual origin, in the older area); cf. e. g. Latin *aqua et igni interdicere*. In effect, the type $\pi\bar{\upsilon}\rho$ usually goes with the type $\bar{\upsilon}\delta\omega\rho$: English *fire: water*, German *Feuer: Wasser*, Umbrian *pir: utur*, C. Hittite *pahhur: watar*, Phrygian $\pi\bar{\upsilon}\rho$: $\bar{\upsilon}\delta\omega\rho$ (cf. Plato, *Cratylus*, 410A).

As a matter of fact, the antiquity of the type *ignis: aqua* in comparison with the type $\pi\bar{\upsilon}\rho$: $\bar{\upsilon}\delta\omega\rho$ has been asserted not only (on areal grounds) by Bàrtoli, *Introduzione*, pp. 1 ff., 51 ff., but also (for quite different, but also excellent, reasons) by A. Meillet, in *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*, XXI (1920), pp. 249 ff. (cf. also *Linguistique Historique et Linguistique Générale*, I, pp. 215 ff.). We can apply here the norm of the *isolated area*: Latin occupies among Indo-European languages the same position that Spanish occupies in the Romance area (see above):

Lat.		O.-Umb.	Gr.	C. Hitt.	Phrygian ²⁶	Iran. ²⁷	Ind.
aqua		$\bar{\upsilon}\delta\omega\rho$	$\bar{\upsilon}\delta\omega\rho$	$\bar{\upsilon}\delta\omega\rho$	$\bar{\upsilon}\delta\omega\rho$	—	$\bar{\upsilon}\delta\omega\rho$

Cuneiform Hittite is once more on the innovative side, Latin on the archaic.²⁸

²⁶ I replace *Armenian* here by *Phrygian*, which certainly had this word (cf. Plato, *Cratylus*, 410A); *Armenian* (which has lost the word in *this sense*) is probably nothing but the later stage of the Phrygian language. In many other cases the Phrygian forms are unknown. *Armenian get* (from **wedō*, of the $\bar{\upsilon}\delta\omega\rho$ -type) means "river," not "water"; although the meaning is similar, and may in many cases be equivalent, it is not quite the same. Cf. *Armenian Quarterly*, I (1946), pp. 91 ff.

²⁷ Iranian has neither the $\bar{\upsilon}\delta\omega\rho$ - $\pi\bar{\upsilon}\rho$ nor the *aqua-ignis* type; it has probably lost the Indo-European words (whichever they were) for religious reasons. Anyhow, it does not have the type *aqua*.

²⁸ A similar "figure" (Ital. "figura") is that of the ending **-mi*, which is lacking in Latin and probably in Osco-Umbrian; it may be illustrated by Latin *sum* as opposed to Cuneiform Hittite *esmi*:

Latin	Osco-Umb.		Greek	Cun. Hittite	Armenian	Iranian	Indo-Ar.
sum	sum		<i>esmi</i>	<i>esmi</i>	<i>esmi</i>	<i>esmi</i>	<i>esmi</i>

See Bonfante, *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*, XXXIII (1932), pp. 111 ff. Cf. also W. Petersen's interesting remark in *A. J. P.*, LIII (1932), p. 196, n. 9.

Of course this "figure" is not *identical* with the previous one: but then the history of a form, of a word, of a sound, is never *identical* with that of any other form or word or sound. Only in mathematics are things identical.

Sometimes, as is to be expected, Cuneiform Hittite agrees with some *Northern Central* languages, but always in innovations. This is the case for the word meaning *father*:

Celtic		Germanic		Baltic		Slavic		Tocharian		
pater		pater		<i>attas</i> ²⁰		<i>attas</i>		pater		
				Albanian						
				<i>attas</i>						
Lat.	O-Umb.	Gr.		C. Hitt.	Luw.	H. Hitt.		Arm.	Iran.	Ind.
pater	pater	pater		<i>attas</i>	<i>attas</i>	<i>attas</i>		pater	pater	pater

In a central zone, consisting of Baltic, Slavic, Albanian, Cuneiform Hittite, Luwian, and Hieroglyphic Hittite, the old Indo-European word **patér* "father" has been replaced by the infantile word (with reduplication) **atta* or **tata* or **teta* (cf. Greek *ἄττα τέττα*, Lat. *tata*, Ital. *tata*, etc.). This word, or type of word, exists of course in all languages (Lat. *atta*, Greek *ἄττα*, *τέττα*, etc.), but it is *only in this central region that it has replaced the old, venerable Indo-European word for "father,"* something like **patér*. (In other words, if we ask a Latinist: "how do you say 'father' in Latin?" he will answer: *pater*, but if you ask an Hettitologist, for the Hittite word, he will say: *attas*.) In Latin, Greek, etc., *atta* is *limited to the infantile vocabulary*: it means *daddy*, not *father*.

On the social reasons for such an important change, see e. g. Bonfante, *Emerita*, II (1934), pp. 269 ff.

In this case, as can be seen, the *atta*-innovation entirely splits and separates the two *pater*-areas. Now, since no Indo-Europeanist will deny that **patér* was once the only Indo-European word for "father," there is only one conclusion left: the type *atta*, in the meaning "father," is the innovation: it has covered

Another example is the final *-i* of C. Hitt. *-mani*, Iran. *-mahi*, Indo-Ar. *-masi*, as opposed to forms without *-i*, as Gr. *-mes*, *-μεν*, Lat. *-mus*:

Latin	Osco-Umb.	Greek		Cun. Hittite	Armenian	Iranian	Indo-Ar.
<i>-mus</i>	?	<i>-men</i>		<i>-mani</i>	?	<i>-mahi</i>	<i>-masi</i>

Cun. Hittite *-meni* is of course a crossing of **-men* + **-mesi*, on the frontier between both.

²⁰ The interpretation of Lithuanian *tévas* "father" is uncertain; it might be perhaps connected somehow with **patér*; but this would change the picture very little, since I reject the "Balto-Slavic" group. Moreover, Lithuanian has also *tētis* "father," which is doubtless of the *atta-tata* type.

a part of what was once a *pater-area*. The *pater-area* was once united; it occupied the whole of the Indo-European domain.

Outside of the areal theory, there is only one explanation for such coincidences as *σύγε*, *ἐμέ*, *-n*, *attas*, etc.: that just "by chance" these contiguous languages—and only these contiguous languages—have produced the same innovation, in these and in hundreds of other cases.

I have developed these ideas in *Indo-germanische Forschungen*, LII (1934), pp. 221 ff.; LV (1937), pp. 131 ff.; *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, XVIII (1939), pp. 381 ff.; *Archiv orientální*, XI (1939), pp. 84 ff., where the reader will find many other similar isoglosses. At the end of my article in *Revue Belge*, pp. 391 f., where I examined 40 isoglosses, I made a tabulation of the results: of these 40 isoglosses there are 32 connecting Greek and Hittite, 12 connecting Armenian and Hittite, 12 connecting Indo-Aryan and Hittite, 10 connecting Iranian and Hittite, and so on, down to Latin, which is connected to Hittite by no isogloss whatsoever (I took into account, of course, as is proper, only the linguistic phenomena which are or can be innovations: not the *-r*-endings, or the preservation of Indo-European **k*, **g* or **k^w*, **g^w*, which are facts of mere conservation). Of course, I might now reject or doubt one or the other of these isoglosses³⁰ and surely add several more (as e. g. *attas*); but I feel certain that the final result would not change much thereby. All of these articles, including those of Bàrtoli³¹ and others on the subject, are entirely ignored by both Sturtevant and Goetze.

Of course there are some connections—as we have seen—between Cuneiform Hittite and Lydian, Luwian, Lycian, Hieroglyphic Hittite; this is to be expected, on the basis of their geographic position. But that is no reason to construct an *Anatolian group* in the Schleicherian sense: then we ought to separate sharply C. Hittite and all the other Anatolian languages

³⁰ I admit e. g. that I was wrong in following Sturtevant (*R. B. Ph. H.*, XVIII [1939], p. 386) in his interpretation of *lukate* as a middle (type of Gr. *φέπειαι*); cf. Sturtevant himself in *Language*, VII (1931), p. 247, n. 12. Prof. Gelb kindly called my attention to this point.

³¹ Especially in the last volume of the *Archivio glottologico italiano*; but also in *Studi albanesi* and elsewhere.

from Greek, Albanian, Slavic, etc., and attribute again to "chance" every coincidence among them, as indicated above.

A proof that Goetze works with a purely Schleicherian method³² is the fact that, out of dozens of problems examined in our article in *J. A. O. S.*, he singles out one, the *centum-satəm* question.³³ But the *centum-satəm* isogloss is one of the

³² Another sign that Goetze follows closely in the Schleicherian-neogrammarian footsteps is the writing *k̑* which he regularly uses for the Indo-European sound of *centum*, *ékaron*, etc. This spelling indicates a palatal or prepalatal or semipalatal articulation; now, there is no proof whatever for such an articulation in Indo-European; on the contrary, everything points in the opposite direction (that this sound was a pure velar). This question has a great theoretical importance. See the excellent remarks of Campus in *Atti Accad. di Torino*, LIV (1919), pp. 116 ff. [= 271 ff.] and of Bàrtoli, *Introduzione*, pp. 1 f., 50 ff., 92 ff.; *A. Gl. It.*, XXV (1931-3), pp. 7 f.; 41, n. 44; XXVI (1934), p. 37, nn. 219 and 220; now also my article in *Word*, I (1945), pp. 141 f.

³³ He is of course not the first to do so: other scholars before him have overemphasized this *centum-satəm* isogloss, dividing the Indo-European languages into a *centum* and a *satəm* "group" or "dialect." I have always opposed this rough oversimplification (see e. g. *Riv. I.-G.-I.*, XV [1931], pp. 164 ff.; my *Dialecti*, pp. 129 and 174 ff.; *J. A. O. S.*, LXIV, p. 183, n. 71); when I say in my works that a language is *centum* or *satəm*, I simply mean that it preserves or assibilates the Indo-European velars (and it can therefore be "more or less" *centum* or *satəm*, because the extension of assibilation is by no means everywhere the same!); but I do not mean at all that it belongs to this or that "group."

In the same vein as Goetze, Prof. F. Ribezzo—one of the most outspoken contemporary neo-grammarians—wrote in his review of my *Dialecti indoeuropei* in *Riv. I.-G.-I.*, XVI (1932), p. 97: "Sicché, ora come prima, la distribuzione dialettale delle lingue storiche resta raccomandata ai grandi fatti di ordine fonetico" (but at least he says "grandi fatti" in the plural!). Cf. on the other side the wise remark of Meillet, *Esquisse d'une histoire de la langue latine*³ (Paris, 1933), p. 14: "Mais on ne saurait se servir de ces traitements définis par les mots *centum* et *quis* pour caractériser un groupe dialectal; car ces traitements se trouvent sur une aire qui ne concorde avec celle d'aucun autre fait dialectal," and what follows; also Vendryes, *Revue Celtique*, XL (1923), p. 173; Pisani, *Riv. I.-G.-I.*, XVI (1932), p. 91; Hermann, *K. Z.*, L (1932), p. 306; Schrader-Nehring, *Reallexikon der idg. Altertumskunde*, s. v. "Phryger," 193a; Bàrtoli, *A. Gl. It.*, XXV (1931-3), pp. 7; 33, n. 10; XXVI (1934), pp. 22 ff.; 37, nn. 219, 220; V. Georgiev, *K. Z.*, LIV (1937), p. 125 and n. 1 (with bibliographical indications of 11 authors holding the same view).

And exactly in the same spirit, when he has to deal with the "Indo-

many Indo-European isoglosses on which the study of the linguistic relationship of the Indo-European languages with one another must be based;³⁴ it is by no means *the* isogloss! It is, however, absolutely necessary for those who follow Schleicher's *Stammbaumtheorie* to limit themselves to *one* or two facts, which they consider important, neglecting or attributing to chance all other coincidences: for an examination of all the facts would necessarily shatter the system itself, would point out connections between languages which *must* be separated, would show the complexity and delicacy of linguistic research, and would destroy the abstract simplicity of the Schleicherian scheme, which cannot stand the brutal shock of reality.³⁵

Hittite" problem, Goetze considers only one question: the *só, *sá, *tód problem; all the rest do not exist. It is obvious that the chances of error in a doctrine based on *one* fact are much greater than those of a doctrine based on 20, 30, or 40. Moreover, as we have seen, in this case that *one* fact does not exist.

³⁴ The final remark of Goetze "since thus . . . the decipherment of h[ieroglyphic] H[ittite] is not advanced enough to form a secure basis for comparative work" loses thereby 99 per cent of its value, since it obviously refers only to the reading of (Gelb's) *šu*-sign, and not to the reading of the other signs, most of which are quite sure (this is admitted by Goetze himself in *J. A. O. S.*, LXIV [1944], pp. 84 ff.). So e. g. there is nothing to be said against the connection of H. Hittite *amu* "me" with Greek *ἐμέ*, etc., since nobody doubts the reading *amu* (H. Hitt. *á* represents some sort of *e* in initial position; cf. e. g. *ás(u)* was "horse" = Lat. *equos*, etc.; *át* = Lat. *edō*, etc.; *ápas* = Lycian *ebe*). But this Goetze appears to forget entirely in his devotion to the *centum-satəm* question.

³⁵ It has been frequently and correctly pointed out that Schleicher was an Indo-Europeanist (the work in which he first presented his theory is called *Compendium der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*) and dealt, like most of his followers, almost exclusively with dead languages, such as Sanskrit, Avestan, Gothic, Homeric Greek, OCSlavonic, etc., sometimes badly recorded and anyhow known to us *only through written tradition*, which obviously gives an artificial and strongly regularized aspect of languages. Even when Indo-Europeanists studied living languages, such as Lithuanian (which they rarely did, because they despised them), they studied them with exactly the same method, and no progress was achieved. We can say that Diez's *Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen* (1st ed. 1836-44; 5th, 1882) and to a very large extent Meyer-Lübke's (1890-1902) are nothing else but transpositions of Bopp's and Schleicher's works to the Romance languages, the motto being: "the older a language is, the better for

I hope that I have shown why, contrary to what Goetze thinks, a fundamental question of method is involved in the problem of the linguistic position of both Hieroglyphic and Cuneiform Hittite and why I feel that Gelb and I have not "wasted our effort." A problem of this nature can never be solved without considering, *first of all*, the geographic position of the language in question.³⁶

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reconstruction" (*reconstruction* was always the main aim of linguists of that time). It was only with Ascoli, Schuchardt, and especially Gilliéron and Campus (apart from Schmidt's excellent, but limited, pioneer-work) that a new conception of linguistics arose, which studied living languages as such, in their immense variety and fluctuations, in their true connections with each other. Schleicher's *Stammbaumtheorie* was immediately relegated to the things of the past. But many contemporary Indo-Europeanists have remained untouched by this new movement; they go on as if nothing had happened. *E il poverin che non se n'era accorto | andava combattendo ed era morto.*

The same is true of the Semitic field, where the Indo-European comparative method was adopted without change and applied mainly, if not exclusively, to the comparison of "old," "venerable" languages, such as Babylonian, Assyrian, Hebrew, Phoenician, and "Classical" Arabic.

The urgent need for an acquaintance with the results of the more progressive and modern Romance linguistics was clearly felt by the more able and intelligent Indo-Europeanists, such as Meillet and Devoto, both of whom wrote articles in the Romance field, and H. Hirt (cf. his *Idg. Gramm.*, I [1927], p. 21: "Die Vorgänge in der Entwicklung der romanischen Sprachen geben uns Fingerzeige, wie wir uns die Entwicklung des Indogermanischen vorstellen können. *Der Indogermanist sollte sich durchaus mit den Methoden und Ergebnissen der romanischen Sprachwissenschaft vertraut machen*" [italics mine]). In fact, scholars with a good training in Romance linguistics (e.g. Bàrtoli and Terracini) or otherwise in modern languages such as the Slavic ones (as Trubetskoy) produced first-class contributions when they turned their attention to Indo-European problems. Cf. also the excellent remarks of Jordan in his *Introduction to Romance Linguistics*, pp. 5, 27, 31, 386, as well as Debrunner (also an Indo-Europeanist!) in his review of Jud and Jaberg's *AIS* (*I.F.*, XLVII [1929], pp. 87 f.).

³⁶ While this article was being printed, Professor Goetze published a new note in *J. A. O. S.*, LXVI (1946), p. 88 ("An Answer to Professor Bonfante") in which he reasserts most of his previous statements. Since he offers no new arguments in favor of his theses, I have nothing to change in my article as it was originally written.

M. AQUILIUS FELIX.*

Readers of *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, Volume V, *Rome and Italy of the Empire* (Baltimore, 1940), are struck by Tenney Frank's observation on page 85: "I venture the opinion that if we had a reliable history of the third century, we should arrive at the conclusion that Septimius Severus dealt the fatal blow to the Empire by his confiscations and his centralizing the ownership of vast estates under imperial control." Whether or not the student agrees with the conclusion, the words, coming from one of so much authority as the late Professor Frank, emphasize the great importance of the financial reorganization under Septimius Severus, and they provide my excuse for re-examining the career of M. Aquilius Felix, who during the critical, early period served that emperor in all three branches of the imperial finances.

In its general outlines the career is well known from the *cursus honorum* preserved on an inscription from Antium,¹ but another, less familiar document² was discovered by Gervasio during excavations at Collina di Canne, 7 km. from Barletta in Apulia. The latter, engraved on a large statue base, contains the *cursus honorum* likewise and dates from about the same period as the Antiatic inscription. Variations of order, terminology and detail,

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¹ *C. I. L.*, X, 6657; *I. L. S.*, 1387; A. von Domaszewski, "Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres," *Bonner Jahrbücher*, CXVII (1908), p. 245. See also A. Stein, *P. I. R.*², 988. The most important discussions elsewhere have been by Th. Mommsen, *Zeitschrift für Rechtswissenschaft*, XV (1850), pp. 338-9 (= *Juristische Schriften*, III, p. 104); O. Hirschfeld, *Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten bis auf Diokletian* (2nd ed., Berlin, 1905), pp. 24-5, 65-8, 119, 267-70; A. Stein, *Der römische Ritterstand (Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte)*, X [1927], pp. 72, 164-5. The first and longest discussion was that of Philippus a Turre (Filippo della Torre), *Monumenta veteris Antii* . . . (Rome, 1700), pp. 1-156.

² Michele Gervasio, no. 3 on pp. 18-19 of the reprint "Scavi di Canne," *Iapigia, Organo della R. Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Puglie*, Nuova Serie, IX (1938), Fascicolo IV, pp. 389-492 (*Epigraphica*, II [1940], pp. 110-11; *Année Epigraphique*, 1945, no. 80).

however, make a comparison between the two records interesting and instructive.

The new monument was erected to Aquilius Felix as patron of the local *municipium*, which would be Canusium or Cannae. An inscription of the time of Vespasian,³ on a stone reused in a modern house two km. away, refers with equal ambiguity to the *m(unicipii) C()*. None of the few inscriptions allude to Cannae, whereas two inscriptions⁴ were erected at Collina di Canne by the *ordo et populus Canusinus*, one between 355 and 360 A. D. Or so the excavator who found them believes. *I. L. S.* 5188 constitutes good evidence that Canusium was [*col*]onia Aurelia [*Au*]g. Pia Canusium in the time of Marcus Aurelius, hence would not have been called *municipium*. It may be that under Septimius Severus Canusium reverted to its former status as a *municipium*. I myself incline to the view that the word *municipium* in line 11 of the new inscription refers to *Canusium*, the well known site of which is 10 km. away, and that the statue of Aquilius Felix was erected at a *vicus* which was Cannae; but these uncertainties have no bearing on the discussion that follows:

ANTIUM

M. Aquilio M. f.
Fabia Felici,
a census equit. Roman.,
praef. cl. pr. Ravennat.,
5 proc. patrim. bis, proc. hered.
patrim. privat., proc. oper. pub.,

CANNAE

M. Aquilio M. f. Fabia
Roma Felici, proc. a cens
ibus equitum Roman., praef. clas.
pr. Ravennat., proc. rat. patr.,
5 proc. oper. publ. et fiscal. urb.
sacrae, proc. rat. patr. iterum,

³ Gervasio, *ibid.*, no. 12 (= *Année Epigr.*, 1945, no. 85).

⁴ Gervasio, *ibid.*, nos. 4 and 7. Gervasio's text of no. 4 reads: *M. Arrio Cle|mentiano| v. c. ob insig|nem benevo|lentie (sic) eius er|ga cives et patria (sic)| ordo et populus| Canusinus d de|creto dedicavit*. It can scarcely date before the reign of Marcus Aurelius because of the predicate of rank. Arrius Clementianus may be a relative of the undated Clementiana, *P. I. R.*², II, 1140, or of the Arri[a.]p[...C]lementiana mentioned in the acts of the *ludi saeculares* of 204 A. D. (*Not. Scav.*, 1931, p. 341, line 89). Gervasio's text of no. 7 reads: *D. n. Fla.| Iuliano| nobilissi|mo Caesa|ri ordo|et populus Canusinus s.* The texts of nos. 4 and 7 are reproduced in *Epigraphica*, II (1940), pp. 126-7 with the erroneous comment "da Canosa." The editor of *Année Epigraphique*, 1945, nos. 81 and 84, who had not had access to Gervasio's article, accepted this misinformation.

ANTIUM

praep. vexillat., p. p. leg. XI Cl.,
 ¶ fr., patron. col., ob mer. eius
 Antiat(es) publ(ice)

CANNAE

proc. rat. privat. Aug. ñ., praeposi
 to vexillat. agentium in Ital.,
 pontif. colon. Lanuvinor., p. p.
 10 legion. XI Claudiae,
 patrono municipii, multis
 meritisque eius
 p. d. d.

My revision of the inscription during a visit to Collina di Canne in November 1944 adds only the letters IF in the word *pontif(ici)* in line 9.

I

DIFFERENCES OF EXPRESSION AND DETAIL

ANTIUM	CANNAE
Fabia	Fabia Roma
a census equit. Roman.	proc. a censibus equitum Roman.
proc. patrim. bis	proc. rat. patr.
	proc. rat. patr. iterum
proc. hered. patrim. privat.	proc. rat. privat. Aug. n.
proc. oper. pub.	proc. oper. publ. et fiscal. urb. sacrae
	pontif. colon. Lanuvinor.
praep. vexillat.	praeposito vexillat. agentium in Ital.
(centurio) fr(umentariorum)	

The first difference lies in the greater fullness of the document at Cannae; the latter gives the exact titles whereas the Antiate inscription employs syncopated locutions for the offices *procurator a censibus equitum Romanorum*, *procurator rationis patrimonii*, *procurator operum publicorum et fiscalium urbis sacrae*. Secondly, the document at Cannae provides more detailed information, a) that Aquilius Felix came from Rome, b) that he had been *procurator rationis privatae* under the emperor still reigning, c) that the cavalry detachments which he had commanded had operated in Italy.

Thirdly, the document at Cannae, but not that at Antium, records an old Latin priesthood conferred upon Aquilius Felix, while the document at Antium, but not that at Cannae, reaches back in his career to the time when he was a centurion in the imperial police.

The fourth difference, in some ways the most arresting, concerns the old dispute over the *res privata* and the *patrimonium*.

The term *res privata* dates from the financial reforms of the emperor Septimius Severus. Karlowa,⁵ followed by others, had interpreted the *res privata* as inalienable crown property and the *patrimonium* as the emperor's private estate. Hirschfeld,⁶ who argued that the *res privata* was the emperor's private estate and that the *patrimonium* was the crown property, leaned heavily on the evidence of the inscription from Antium. Hirschfeld, whose view has prevailed among contemporary scholars, maintained that the expression *procurator hereditatium patrimonii privati* meant procurator in the bureau later called the *res privata*, i. e. *procurator rationis privatae*. It is gratifying that the inscription at Cannae, employing the later terminology, demonstrates the accuracy of Hirschfeld's conclusion.

The new text disposes of another question at this point. Whereas Hirschfeld had assumed a distinction between the *patrimonium* and the *patrimonium privatum* of the Antiate inscription, Mitteis⁷ argued that they might be identical. Mitteis thought that the expression *proc. patrim. bis* could mean "*procurator patrimonii privati* for a second time." The improbability of this interpretation should have been apparent. The ordinal adverb is *iterum*, not *bis*, and misuse of the adverb of frequency for the ordinal adverb in Latin is not attested before the time of Diocletian.⁸ The inscription at Cannae now proves that the word *bis* was correctly employed in the document at Antium, and that the objection raised by Mitteis to Hirschfeld's distinction between the *patrimonium* and the *patrimonium privatum* had no foundation.

The meaning of the Antiate expression *a census* leads us into another old dispute. Mommsen⁹ identified the office as that of the *a censibus*, and Domaszewski¹⁰ so emended the text. Hirsch-

⁵ O. Karlowa, *Römische Rechtsgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1885), I, pp. 505-6.

⁶ Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-5.

⁷ L. Mitteis, *Römisches Privatrecht bis auf die Zeit Diokletians*, I (Leipzig, 1908), p. 359, n. 26.

⁸ A. E. Housman, *Journal of Philology*, XXX (1907), pp. 251-2. H. Last, "Cinnae quater consulis," *C. R.*, LVIII (1944), pp. 15-17.

⁹ Th. Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, III (Leipzig, 1887), p. 490, n. 2; II² (1877), p. 398.

¹⁰ von Domaszewski, *loc. cit.*, p. 245. The first, however, to propound this emendation was Filippo della Torre, *op. cit.* (1700), pp. 31-53.

feld,¹¹ followed by Stein,¹² argued that this was not the official known as the *a censibus* but a special official *a<d> census equit(um) Roman(or)um*, a new creation of Septimius Severus, similar to the *procurator ad bona damnatorum*. However, the inscription at Cannae reveals that the titles *a<d> census equitum Romanorum* and *procurator a censibus equitum Romanorum* refer to the same post.¹³ Mommsen's argument, therefore, is much strengthened, because an important element in the seeming difference of title disappears. The same question must now be presented in other terms: Is the Severan official *procurator a censibus equitum Romanorum* identical with the Antonine official (*procurator*) *a censibus*?¹⁴

¹¹ Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-7. Previously the emendation *a<d> census* had been proposed by J. K. von Orelli, *Inscriptionum Latinarum selectarum amplissima collectio* . . . (Zurich, 1828), no. 3180.

¹² Stein, *Ritterstand*, p. 72.

¹³ Similarly the title of his underling vacillated between *nomenclator a censibus* and *nomenclator a<d> census* (see Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 66). The passage is cited correctly *a<d> census* (not *a cens<ib>us*) *equit(um) Roman(or)um* in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, III, col. 807.

¹⁴ The examples collected by Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-6, are the following:

a) *I. L. S.*, 1338 (Fulginae): [---]o prae[f. | coh]ortis, trib. milit[um, | p]raef. equit., censito[ri] | Brittonum Anavion[ens.], | proc. Aug. Armeniae mai[oris] (114-117 A.D.), | ludi magni, hereditatium | et a censibus, a libellis Aug., | praef. vigilum, praef. Aegy[pti], | M. Taminus Ce[---]. This appears to concern T. Haterius Nepos, prefect of Egypt from 120 to 124 A.D.; I understand the text as saying that he was *procurator hereditatium*, then *procurator a censibus*, then a *libellis*.

b) *I. L. S.*, 1454 (Lugdunum): C. Iul. C. fil. Quir. Celso | a libellis et censibus (in time of Antoninus Pius), | proc. provinciar. Lugud. et Aquitanic[ae], | proc. patrimoni, proc. XX hereditat. Roma[e], | proc. Neaspoleos et mausolei Alexandriae, proc. | XX hereditat. per provincias Narbonens[em] | et Aquitanicam, dilectatori per Aquitanica[e] | XI populos, curator viae lignariae triumphalis, | Appianus Aug. lib. tabul. ration. ferrar. Here it seems to be one bureau a *libellis et censibus*.

c) *I. L. S.*, 1412 (Concordia): P. Cominio P. f. | Cl. Clementi | praef. classium praet. | Misenens. et Ravenn., | praeposito a cens. (in time of Marcus Aurelius), proc. | Aug. XX her., proc. Aug. pro | vinc. Lusitan., proc. Aug. | prov. Daciae Apolensis, | subpraef. ann., proc. Aug. | ad famil. glad. trans Pa(dum), | proc. Aug. XX her. per Hisp. | citer., omnib. equestrib. | milit. funct., pontif., pa | tron. coloniar. Conc. | Aquil. Parmens. Venafr., | ordo Conc. The same career is recorded in an inscription at Aquileia (*Not. Scav.*, 1923, p. 230); it seems clear that

To the writer an essential identity of office seems the easier assumption. It cannot be argued that the addition of the words *equitum Romanorum* to the title in the case of Aquilius Felix indicates a lesser position than that of the (*procuratores* or *prae-*

he was called *praepositus* (not *procurator*) *a censibus* and that immediately afterwards he commanded both Italian fleets simultaneously, rather than in succession as C. G. Starr, *The Roman Imperial Navy* (*Cornell Studies in Classical Philology*, XXVI [1941]), seems to assert on page 46, note 12. This single command of two fleets occurred during one of the large scale naval operations of the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

d) *I. L. S.*, 8853 = *I. G. R. R.*, IV, 1213 (Thyatira): . . . 'Αλφ. Ἀπολλινάριον ἐπὶ κήνσον Σεβ. (in time of Commodus perhaps).

e) *C. I. L.*, III, 259 (Ancyra): [- -] *a libellis et c[ensibus]* | [ἐπὶ βιβλιδίω]ν καὶ κήνσων Αν[- -]. The restorations of this undated inscription are by Hirschfeld. Here too it seems to be one bureau *a libellis et censibus*.

f) Dio Cassius, ep., LXXVIII, 4: Οὐλπίου Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ τότε τὰς τιμήσεις ἐγκεχειρισμένου (217 A. D.). On this man, who upon the elevation of Macrinus appears to have risen from the post *a censibus* directly to that of pretorian prefect, see L. L. Howe, *The Pretorian Prefect from Commodus to Diocletian* (Chicago, 1942), p. 73.

g) *Fragmenta iuris Romani Vaticana*, § 204 (*de excusatione*): *Proinde qui studiorum c(au)sa Romae s(unt) p(rae)cipu(a)e civilium, debent | [excusari, quamdiu iu]ris c(au)sa Romae agunt studii cura distracti; et ita | [- - - - imper]at(or) Antoninus Aug(ustus) Cereali a censib(us) et aliis | [rescripsit]*. The fragment appears to be derived from Ulpian's book *De officiis praetoris tutelaris*. The restorations are those of Th. Mommsen, *Collectio librorum iuris anteiustiniani*, III (Berlin, 1890), p. 66. P. E. Huschke, whose restorations are retained by B. Kuebler, *Iurisprudentia anteiustiniana*, II, 2 (Leipzig, 1927), p. 269, supplied [*excusari, quia tantum tempo*]ris in the first lacuna and [*cum divo Severo patre suo*] in the second. Stein, *P. I. R.*², II, p. 149, no. 674, still emends to read *Cereali a censib(us) et a li<bell>is*, but compare Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 66, n. 1. Stein is mistaken in asserting that the title of the combined office sometimes reads *a censibus et a libellis* in that order—and with two prepositions. Stein is right, however, in rejecting the impossible identification of the *a censibus* Cerealis with the senator Man(ilius) Cerealis, who was prefect of the city. The emendation *a li<bell>is* and P. F. Girard's outdated note, "Correction ingénieuse et inédite qu'a bien voulu nous communiquer M. Otto Hirschfeld," have been retained even in the sixth edition (1937) of the *Textes de droit romain* by Félix Senn (p. 545), whom Hirschfeld's retraction, however, has escaped. Although it is widely assumed, partly because of the false identification of Cerealis with the senator Man(ilius) Cerealis, that the emperor Antoninus of this fragment was Caracalla, it could have been Antoninus Pius, whose great interest in the universities is well known, or Marcus Aurelius. The second lacuna may conclude also *sac]rat(issimus)*. For the phrase *sac]rat(issimus) Antoninus* cf.

positi) a *censibus* of an earlier period. They too belonged to the equestrian order. Aquilius Felix even held the position after being prefect of an Italian fleet.¹⁵ Consequently the importance of the position nowhere appears greater than in his *cursus honorum*. It is significant also that Antium and an Apulian town, widely separated, chose the *a censibus equitum Romanorum* Aquilius Felix as their patron.

There are two strong arguments for assuming that the office called *a censibus equitum Romanorum* under Septimius Severus was that called *a censibus* under the Antonines. The Antonine official *a censibus* held one of the few great procuratorships; also the Severan chief of the bureau *a censibus equitum Romanorum* held one of the few great procuratorships and so does not resemble the *procurator ad bona damnatorum*, a mere *centenarius*. Secondly the titles now appear basically the same.

Thus we are nearer to an exact definition of the duties of the office *a censibus*. Mommsen considered it an office which examined the basis for admission to senatorial and equestrian rank and which constituted a branch of the office *a libellis*. Hirschfeld, on the other hand, excluding as irrelevant the case of Aquilius Felix, attributed to the office all the business of the emperor in the latter's capacity as censor, and he very correctly denied that so important a bureau could be a mere branch of the

Digest, XXVII, 1, 6, 10: . . . Παῦλος γράφει, λέγων τὸν θεότατον Ἀντωνίνον τὸν Εὐσεβῆ οὕτω κεκελευμέναι. The facsimile suggests that the paragraph ended with the word *aliis*; the restoration *rescripts* could be shifted to the second lacuna.

To the above examples collected by Hirschfeld add

h) *C. I. L.*, XIV, 5347 (Ostia): *L. Volusio L. f. | Maeciano | praefecto Aegypti, | praef. annonae, pontif. m(inori), | a libellis et censibus Imp. | Antonini Aug. Pii, a studis et | proc. bibliothecarum, praef. | vehiculorum, a libellis | Antonini Aug. Pii sub divo | Hadriano, | adiutori o(perum) p(ublicorum), praef. coh. I Aeliae | classicae, praef. fabrum, | patrono coloniae, | decurionum | decreto publice*. Perhaps all examples of the combined title *a libellis et censibus* should be assigned to the reign of Antoninus Pius. It probably reflects a merely temporary situation.

On the other hand, do not add *C. R. Acad. Inscr.*, 1945, pp. 144-62, where the position *proc. ad cen[sus]* held by Q. Marcius Turbo ca. 115-16 A. D. before the position *proc. XX heredi[tat.] provincia[e Syriae Palaest]inae* is presumably a provincial procuratorship like those listed by H. Dessau, *I. L. S.*, III, 1, p. 427, and does not concern us.

¹⁵ On the exalted position enjoyed by the prefect of the Ravennate fleet, a *ducenarius*, see now C. G. Starr, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

office *a libellis*. It is possible that an increase of business entailed both an augment of importance and a narrowing of competence. If, as we have argued, there is no reason to exclude Aquilius Felix, it follows that whatever additional duties he may have had, also the Antonine official *a censibus* was fundamentally concerned with the equestrian and senatorial brevets.

II

ORDER OF ENUMERATION

	Antium	Cannae
proc. a censibus equitum Roman.....	1	1
praef. class. pr. Ravennat.....	2	2
proc. rat. patr.....	3 (bis)	3
proc. oper. publ. et fiscal. urb. sacrae.....	6	4
proc. rat. patr. iterum.....	(bis)	5
proc. rat. privat. = proc. hered. patrim. privat.	5	6
praepositus vexillat. agentium in Ital.....	7	7
pontif. colon. Lanuvior.....	—	8
p.p. leg. XI Claudiae.....	8	9
(centurio) fr(umentariorum).....	9	—

The main offices are recorded in both lists. The entry *proc. patrim. bis* reveals that the order of enumeration is not chronological at Antium. On the other hand, the entries *proc. rat. patr.* in line 4 of the other inscription and *proc. rat. patr. iterum* in line 6 reveal that at Cannae the *cursus honorum* was drawn up in inverse chronological order. The *cursus honorum* at Antium was drawn up in descending order of importance, and for this reason it lists the office *proc. hered. patrim. privat.*, which was growing steadily in importance, above the post *proc. oper. publ.*

Mommsen was the first to point out that Aquilius Felix was very probably the centurion Aquilius, *notus caedibus senatoriis*, whom Didius Julianus had sent to murder Septimius Severus and that he was probably among those soldiers who immediately deserted and reaped rewards from Severus.¹⁶ At the same time Mommsen pointed out that the Roman inscription now available

¹⁶ Th. Mommsen, *Zeitschrift für Rechtswissenschaft*, XV (1850), pp. 335-9. This identification was rejected by A. De Ceuleneer, *Essai sur le règne de Septime Sévère* (Brussels, 1880), p. 41, n. 3, but it has met with approval not only from J. Hasebroek, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Septimius Severus* (Heidelberg, 1921), pp. 30-3, but from Dessau, Hirschfeld, Domaszewski, and Stein.

in *I. L. S.*, 5920 showed Aquilius Felix as *procurator operum publicorum* on August 19, 193 A. D.

He was *procurator rationis patrimonii* in 193 before August 19.¹⁷ He was *procurator rationis patrimonii* a second time later, but the exact year is unknown.¹⁸ Still earlier in 193 he served as *procurator hereditatium patrimonii privati*. Hence the *patrimonium privatum*, which developed after the great confiscations of 197 into the huge *res privata*,¹⁹ was already separate from the *patrimonium* in the first year of the new reign. Rather than inherited, the separate account had probably just been set up, the initial step in the creation of the *res privata*.

The emperor Septimius Severus was still living when the inscription at Cannae was engraved, as we know from the reference to the living emperor in line 7. The expression *Aug(usti) n(ostri)* need not restrict us to a date before Caracalla became co-ruler, but by 211, at the latest, Aquilius Felix had become *procurator a censibus equitum Romanorum*.

It would appear then that his first equestrian honor, the *pontificatus Coloniae Lanuvinorum*, was conferred upon him in the spring of 193, after he became *primipilus* but before he assumed command of the cavalry groups operating in Italy. His name may now be added to the list of seven known *sacerdotes Lanuvini* drawn up by Wissowa.²⁰ In all cases the priesthood is held by men at the mere beginning of an equestrian career.

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¹⁷ Cannae, line 6, *proc. rat. patr. iterum*. Here the word *iterum* means "on an earlier (not later) occasion"; it reflects the inscriptional rather than chronological point of view. In this entry the *cursus honorum* presents a second record of a tenure of the office, not a record of the second tenure.

¹⁸ Tenney Frank, *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, Volume V, *Rome and Italy of the Empire* (Baltimore, 1940), p. 83, n. 45, cites Rostovtzeff, *Dizionario Epigrafico*, III (1898), p. 100 to the effect that Aquilius Felix was *procurator patrimonii* in 201 A. D. The supposed evidence in *B. G. U.*, I, 156 was the result of Wilcken's earlier misreading, subsequently corrected. Wilcken's later text in *Chrestomathie*, p. 175 reads *Ἀρχαίου* (not *Ἀκίλιου*) *Φήλικος*.

¹⁹ Frank, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-9.

²⁰ A. Wissowa, "Die römischen Staatspriestertümer altlatinischer Gemeindekulte," *Hermes*, L (1915), p. 5. A. E. Gordon, "The Cults of Lanuvium," *Univ. of California Publ. in Class. Archaeology*, II, 2 (1938), p. 46 makes no additions to Wissowa's list.

NOTE ON GELLIUS, N. A., I, 6.

The last modern, critical edition of Aulus Gellius' *Attic Nights* by John C. Rolfe (Loeb Classical Library, 3 vols., 1927) offers an opportunity for some remarks with regard to chapter 6 in Book I.

The chapter refers to the famous speech of a Roman censor, Q. Metellus, addressed to the people of Rome on the topic *De uxoribus ducendis*. Its purpose, says Gellius, was to exhort the men of Rome to take wives: *ad uxores ducendas populum hortari*.¹ From the phrase *uxores ducere* it must be inferred that the address in question was directed to the men of Rome, who in the interest of the State, should marry to check the declining birth-rate. Therefore the speech was not "On Marriage," as we read in Rolfe's translation. The Latin text does not say *De matrimonii* or *De nuptiis* (as, for instance, the jurist Neratius entitled his monograph on marriage²), which would not have been correct since the censor's address was not a treatise on marriage in general but an exposition of the reasons why it was the duty of the bachelors of Rome to take wives (*ducendis*). It is sufficient to remember that the appeal in question (whoever may have been its author³) was caused by the increase of celibacy and the sterility of Roman marriages in the second half of the second century B. C.⁴ The gerundive form of the title of the

¹ Cf. the superscription to the chapter: . . . *cum populum ad uxores ducendas adhortaretur* (similarly, I, 6, 3) and I, 6, 1: *cum eum ad matrimonia capessenda hortaretur*. The latter phrase is translated by Rolfe a little too freely: "urging them to be ready (?) to undertake the obligations (?)."

² Cf. Gellius, IV, 4, 4, the sole mention of the work of which no fragment is preserved (cf. Berger, *R.-E.*, XVI, col. 2557). In Roman juristic literature there were only monographs dealing with some chapters of the Law of Matrimony, for example, on the dowry (by Servius, Gaius, Modestinus), on donations between husbands and wives (by Paul), on adultery (by Papinian, Ulpian, Paul), and *De ritu nuptiarum* (by Modestinus).

³ To this question we shall return later.

⁴ For references in Roman literature to these problems see F. Schupfer, *La famiglia secondo il diritto romano* (1876), pp. 140 ff.; P. Bonfante, *Corso di dir. rom.*, I (1925), pp. 252 ff.; J. Carcopino, *Daily Life in Ancient Rome* (1940), pp. 96 ff.

address implies the idea of the necessity, the duty, of taking wives, which disappears completely in the colorless translation "On Marriage."

The censor's exhortation was based on a particular line of argument. Instead of exalting the advantages of marriage, the Roman official presented life with a wife as a *malum necessarium*, as a *molestia* which caused trouble and annoyance to husbands,—certainly not a compliment to Roman wives, who fortunately, as we have seen above, were not present at the meeting. "Since nature has thus ordained," said the censor, "that we can live neither comfortably enough with a wife, nor at all without her," Roman men "should rather consult the perpetual safety of the State than their own short enjoyment."⁵

This strange manner of presenting marriage as a necessary institution designed to strengthen the State did not pass without criticism among the ancients. Gellius reports a discussion, a very vivid one, on the question whether Metellus had chosen the right way to obtain the results he desired. Arguments for and against Metellus' method are quoted. Among the critical remarks of those who objected that he dissuaded and deterred men from marriage instead of encouraging them to it,⁶ we find the view that he should have said that marriages as a rule do not create annoyances and that, even if they do sometimes occur, they are slight and insignificant, arising not from any natural fault but "from misconduct and injustice on the part of some husbands" (*quorundam maritorum culpa et iniustitia*).

It is obvious that the censor's critics intended to defend Roman wives against his uncomplimentary statement. If they had shared his opinion and had wished to censure him only for not having varnished the truth in attractive colors, their whole criticism would not have been at all serious, but merely a reproach to the magistrate for having spoken the truth. If they had

⁵ From I, 6, 6: *civitatem salvam esse*, it is obvious that *salus perpetua* (I, 6, 2) refers to the *civitas*. The idea is not adequately expressed in the translation: "for our lasting well-being." The juxtaposition of *perpetuus* and *brevis* emphasizes the perpetuity of the State and the brevity of human life.

⁶ Rolfe's translation of *Q. Metellum censorem cui consilium esset ad uxores ducendas populum hortari* (I, 6, 3) as "Metellus whose purpose as censor [italics mine] was to encourage," etc. distorts the sense of the phrase.

meant to criticize only the way in which he encouraged the bachelors of Rome to marry, they would have said that he ought to have stressed only the necessity of taking wives for the sake of the State, without touching upon the troubles of marriage at all.

The translator, however, understood the passage quite differently. Referring to the words *quorundam maritorum*, he says: "of some husbands and wives." The introduction of the wives would deprive the censor's opponents of the strongest point in their criticism. In his oration wives were presented as an unavoidable evil. It would have been illogical, then, for his critics, aiming at making some husbands responsible for the inconveniences of marriage, again to accuse the wives of being troublemakers.

This misunderstanding, which does not occur in the various other translations of the *Attic Nights*,⁷ cannot be justified by the fact that very exceptionally *mariti* is used to mean "husbands and wives," as, for instance, in the text of the *Digest* (XXIV, 1, 52, 1: *inter maritos nihil agitur*) familiar to students of Roman law. In all such cases⁸ there is no doubt about the unusual meaning of the term. And there can be no doubt about its meaning in Gellius' passage.⁹

The Loeb edition of Gellius also provokes a thorough re-examination of the problem of the author of the speech. Gellius calls him once (I, 6, 1) Metellus Numidicus, and later simply Q. Metellus. Metellus Numidicus, who was censor in 102 B. C., also appears elsewhere in the *Attic Nights*.¹⁰ A speech dealing with the same topic is ascribed, however, by two other ancient authors to another Q. Metellus, called Macedonicus, censor in 131 B. C.¹¹ In Livy (Per. 59) we read:

extat oratio eius quam Augustus Caesar, cum de maritandis ordinibus ageret, vel in haec tempora scriptam in senatu recitavit.

⁷ Cf. W. Beloc, *The Attic Nights*, I (London, 1795), p. 27, and also later editions; Chaumont-Blambert-Buisson, *Les Nuits Attiques*, I (1845), p. 3; M. Nisard, *Collection des auteurs latins*, XIV (1856), p. 435; M. Mignou, *Aulu-Gelle, Les Nuits Attiques*, I (1934), p. 25.

⁸ See *T. L. L.*, VIII, p. 404, lines 65 ff.

⁹ Gellius never used the word in the broader sense (cf. II, 15, 5-7; X, 23, 4). *Quorundam*, which precedes *maritorum*, should not be overlooked since it fits only the meaning of "husbands."

¹⁰ Cf. Rolfe's edition, III, p. 460, s. v. "Caecilius."

¹¹ On both see Münzer, *R.-E.*, III (col. 1213, no. 94 for Macedonicus; col. 1218, no. 97 for Numidicus).

Q. Metellus censor censuit ut omnes cogerentur ducere uxores liberorum creandorum causa.

And Suetonius (*Aug.*, 89, 2) adds some details to Livy's report:

etiam libros totos et senatui recitavit (*sc.* Augustus) et populo notos per edictum saepe fecit,¹² ut orationes¹³ Q. Metelli *de prole augenda* et Rutili *de modo aedificiorum*, quo magis persuaderet utramque rem non a se primo animadversam, sed antiquis iam tunc curae fuisse.

This contradiction between Gellius and the other authors raised the question whether there were actually two addresses by two censors, one delivered in 131 B. C., as reported by Livy and Suetonius, and the other in 102 B. C., as Gellius indicates, or whether there was only one speech, that of Metellus Macedonicus. In the latter case the name Numidicus in Gellius would be merely a mistake. Both alternatives had their adherents. A striking example of oscillation is afforded by H. Meyer, the editor of the well-known *Oratorum Romanorum Fragmenta*. In the first edition¹⁴ he believed in the existence of two speeches; in the second, however, published some years later,¹⁵ he gave preference to the report of the historians on one page, but on another to Gellius whose reliability seemed to him more probable in spite of the evidence of Livy and Suetonius. Today, however, there is no doubt that the second alternative, that Gellius was in error, must be considered the *communis opinio*.¹⁶

¹² The speech was not "read to the people by Augustus" (so Rolfe, I, p. 30, n. 1). Augustus read it to the Senate and made it public by an edict (Suetonius).

¹³ This plural misled H. Ailloud (*Suétone*, I [Paris, 1931], p. 135) who speaks of "les discours de Q. Metellus et ceux de Rutilius." Suetonius' plural refers to one speech of Metellus and one of Rutilius. J. A. Field, Jr. (*C. J.*, XL [1945], p. 405) also speaks of "orations" of Metellus.

¹⁴ Paris, 1837, p. 204.

¹⁵ Zurich, 1842, pp. 161, 275 f.

¹⁶ The following citations make no claim to completeness: H. Fynes Clifton, *Fasti Hellenici*, III (1834), p. 450, note r; F. Zumpt, "Über den Stand der Bevölkerung in Rom," *Abh. Berl. Akad.*, 1940, p. 25, n. 2; A. Haackh, *Pauly's Realencycl.*, II (1842), p. 24; M. Wende, *De Caeciliis Metellis* (Bonn, 1875), p. 56; L. Lange, *Römische Altertümer*, III (1876), p. 24, n. 7; P. Joers, "Die Ehegesetze des Augustus," *Festschr. Mommsen* (1893), p. 35, n. 2; Münzer, *R.-E.*, III (1899), col. 1215, line 53; Cichorius, *Untersuchungen zu Lucilius* (1908), p. 133, n. 1; P.

Nevertheless the question must be re-examined since Rolfe¹⁷ revived it and his solution is contrary to the generally accepted answer. In his opinion it is more probable that Livy and Suetonius refer to a different speech from the one cited by Gellius. His arguments are: Suetonius¹⁸ gives the speech the title *De prole augenda*, while Gellius calls it *De uxoribus ducendis*; and Livy uses the word *cogerentur*, which does not fit the contents of the speech as related by Gellius. The first argument does not, in my opinion, prove anything. An address which dealt with the duty of taking wives could easily be qualified *De prole augenda*¹⁹ since its purpose was to stress the necessity, in the interest of the State, not only of taking wives but also of procreating children. Marriages were contracted *liberorum quaerendorum causa*, according to the Roman formula; and declarations which were made before the censors by husbands on the occasion of their registration contained this clause, as we

Fraccaro, *Studi Storici*, V (1912), p. 337, n. 1; Teuffel-Kroll-Skutsch, *Gesch. der römischen Literatur*, I (6th ed., 1916), p. 237; otherwise Teuffel in the first edition (1870), pp. 173, 188 and the second edition (1872), p. 226; Schanz-Hosius, *Gesch. der römischen Literatur*, I (4th ed., 1927), p. 217; Kappelmacher, *R.-E.*, XIII (1927), col. 1623, line 35; H. Malcovati, *Oratorum Romanorum Fragmenta*, I (1930), pp. 100, 221; A. Cima's *Eloquenza latina*, quoted by the last author, was not available to me; N. Terzaghi, *Lucilio* (1934), pp. 14, 146; Ailloud, *op. cit.*, p. 135, n. 1; Field, *loc. cit.*, p. 405, n. 23. E. de Ruggiero, *Dizionario epigr.*, II (1892), p. 169, does not mention the passage of Gellius in his list of censors, either under Metellus Macedonicus or Numidicus. R. V. Cram, "The Roman Censors," *Harv. Stud. Class. Phil.*, LI (1940), pp. 96, 98, does not touch upon the question but quotes Gellius under Numidicus and Livy and Suetonius under Macedonicus. The mention of Numidicus by G. A. Petropoulos in his recent *History of Roman Law* (*Ἱστορία καὶ Εἰσαγγήσεις τοῦ Ῥωμαϊκοῦ Δικαίου* [Athens, 1944]), p. 1054, may be simply a slip of the pen since he refers to Livy and Suetonius, and quotes H. Siber, *Deutsche Rechtswissenschaft*, IV (1939), p. 158, who follows the common opinion in rejecting Gellius as erroneous.

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, I, p. 30, n. 1.

¹⁸ "Who gives the name simply as Q. Metellus." But Gellius also does this, after giving it only once with the addition of Numidicus.

¹⁹ The identical gerundive construction should not be overlooked. As a matter of fact, such a construction appears very rarely in titles of speeches or books; cf., for instance, M. Porcius Cato's speech *De praeda militibus dividenda* (Gellius, XI, 18, 18), or Cicero's booklet *De iure civili in artem redigendo*. The construction implies a duty, a necessity, which should be given adequate expression in the translation. Rolfe's version of the title of the speech as given by Suetonius (Loeb Classical

know from various sources.²⁰ A speech dealing with men's obligation to marry and have legitimate children might be entitled either *De uxoribus ducendis* or *De prole augenda*. Thus the difference in the titles used by the ancient authors is rather an argument in favor of the identity of the two addresses.

No decisive conclusion can be drawn from the fact that Livy uses the verb *cogerentur* while Gellius employs merely *adhortari*. A censor could not force people to marry. Besides, Livy's text says only that the censor thought it advisable that men be compelled to take wives. The term *censuit* does not involve a legally binding decree, which of course lay beyond the censors' power. The censor's address could imply only a moral obligation, a moral duty. The word *cogi* may have been used by Livy to bring Metellus' ideas closer to Augustus' legislation which, indirectly at least, by the threat of various material and social disadvantages, put legal pressure on single and childless people to marry and to procreate children. Even the Emperor could not directly *cogere omnes uxores ducere*. Thus through the use of *cogerentur*, which does not have here the meaning of a legal measure but refers only to the opinion of the censor, Metellus Macedonicus' address was given an Augustan coloring. This is expressly pointed out by Livy.

If *cogerentur* were sufficient to suggest the idea that Livy's speech was different from Gellius', one would be obliged to assume that Suetonius' text refers to a *third* speech, since an address *De prole augenda* by no means involves a *legal* compulsion to marry.

Unfortunately none of the three texts refers to the occasion on which the speech was made. Of course, an indication of the occasion or the place would have given a solid foundation for a neat distinction between the two speeches. The historians, however, merely mention the oration, while Gellius repeatedly speaks of the people (*populus*) as the addressee of the speech, avoiding any indication of the character of the meeting. In all probability it was a *contio*, since the censors had no *ius agendi cum populo*; instead they had the opportunity *verba facere ad populum*, as Gellius (XIII, 16, 3) defines the phrase *contionem*

Library, I [1935], p. 259), "On increasing the family," does not reflect exactly the purpose of the speech as expressed by the Latin title.

²⁰ Cf. Gellius, IV, 3, 2; XVII, 21, 44; Suetonius, *Julius*, 52, 3; Dionysius Halicarnensis, II, 25, 7.

habere. Since a *contio* took place in connection with the census²¹ it is probable that an address to the people was delivered on such an occasion. It is worth noting that neither Livy nor Suetonius gives any hint whatsoever that Metellus Macedonicus made his speech in the Senate,²² only that Augustus recited it before that honorable assembly. It is, in fact, most unlikely that Metellus Macedonicus presented his point of view to the Senate, for had the censor's motion been successful and had it been adopted in a *Senatusconsultum*, neither Livy nor Suetonius could have passed over it in silence. On the other hand, if the censor's motion had failed to pass in the Senate, Augustus would hardly have recited it before the Senate. Thus the text of neither of the historians admits of the conclusion that the oration was not addressed *ad populum*.

In my opinion, however, new arguments may be drawn from Suetonius in favor of the identity of the speeches. He says that Augustus recalled Metellus' oration to convince the Senate and the people that he was not the first to deal with this matter but that it had already been the concern of the ancients (*antiquis iam curae fuisse*). Now if there had been two speeches at different times on the same topic as that with which Augustus' legislative measures were concerned, he certainly would have mentioned both of them. Furthermore, the fact that Suetonius mentions Metellus' speech before Rutilius' oration *De modo aedificiorum*, which occurred between 116 and 111 B. C.,²⁴ seems to me to be an indication, in view of Suetonius' observance of historical sequence, that the first speech was earlier than that of Rutilius. This again leads to Metellus Macedonicus, who was censor long before Rutilius.

The inference that there were two famous censorial speeches is, therefore, most unlikely and has not been supported by Rolfe's

²¹ Cf. Kubitschek, *R.-E.*, III, col. 1914; Liebenam, *ibid.*, IV, col. 1152.

²² One should not be misled by *censuit* which is here not used in the sense of voting in the Senate (cf. Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, III, p. 988).

²³ I should hesitate to translate *antiqui* (the ancients) as "forefathers," as is done in the Loeb translation of Suetonius. A Roman emperor would not call a censor his forefather. Field, *loc. cit.*, p. 405, seems to have been thinking of the title in Gellius when he inserted into the passage of Suetonius the heading "for the encouragement of marriage."

²⁴ Cf. Münzer, *R.-E.*, I A, col. 1271.

approach to the problem. It presupposes two censors of the same name, Q. Metellus, both authors of an address to the people of Rome on the same topic and with the same purpose, delivered within the short interval of less than thirty years, and both equally famous through the centuries. The hypothesis of an error on Gellius' part does not meet with such improbabilities. The mistake is the more probable in that Numidicus is mentioned several times by Gellius while Macedonicus is not named by him at all.

The objection may be raised that Augustus would not have attacked the behavior of Roman wives before introducing his legislative reform *de maritandis ordinibus*. It would have been, it is true, an awkward prelude to the realization of his ideas. The censor's speech contained, however, other material besides the few lines referred to by Gellius; in fact, the oration was a whole *liber*, according to Suetonius. It is more than probable, therefore, that the Emperor did not repeat the censor's sneers at Roman wives but limited himself to that part of the speech which stressed the needs of the State and sought to convince the men of Rome of their moral duty to marry.

There is still another point to be touched upon and exploited in favor of the common thesis. Gellius' Metellus was not the only Roman who called living with a wife "*molestia*" (*si sine uxore vivere possemus, omnes ea molestia careremus*, he said, according to Gellius). Now, a contemporary of Metellus Macedonicus, the famous Roman satirist, C. Lucilius, a confirmed bachelor, satirized marriage with the same depreciatory word: *homines ipsi hanc sibi molestiam ultro . . . offerunt, ducunt uxores, producunt . . . liberos* (XXVI, 678 f. [ed. Marx, I, 1904]).²⁵ The use of the word *molestia* is all the more striking in that it is not found in other Roman authors who criticized marriage. Lucilius and Metellus Macedonicus were political enemies.²⁶ Consequently, several scholars, known as special authorities on Lucilius, have seen in the word an expression of his hostility toward the censor and an attempt to thwart directly the censor's plea in favor of matrimony.²⁷ Lucilius' *molestia* may have originated in Mace-

²⁵ Note the mention of marriage and the procreation of children.

²⁶ Cf. Kappelmacher, *R.-E.*, XIII, col. 1623; Terzaghi, *op. cit.*, pp. 14 f.

²⁷ Cf. Marx, II (1905), p. 247; W. Schmitt, *Satirenfragmente des Lucilius aus den Büchern XXVI-XXX* (Munich, 1914), p. 28; Cichorius, *op. cit.*, p. 133; Kappelmacher, *loc. cit.*, col. 1623, line 35.

donicus' sentence, and it is not without piquancy ²⁸ to suggest that the satirist borrowed from his adversary and used in a merely derogatory sense a word which the censor had used as an expression of humorous frankness the sharpness of which was immediately blunted by his reference to the interests of the State and the moral duty of the citizens. These considerations are, of course, absent from Lucilius who makes men themselves ²⁹ responsible for the *molestia* they incur, while the censor ascribed to nature (*natura tradidit*) ³⁰ the institution of marriage and the necessity of living with a wife.

Lucilius wrote the twenty-sixth book of *Carmina*, according to Marx, ³¹ in 131 B. C., that is, in the same year in which Metellus Macedonicus made his speech. Other scholars ³² assume a somewhat later date. In any case, the satirist's clever allusion to the censor's ideas can be referred only to Metellus Macedonicus, not to Metellus Numidicus, since Lucilius was dead at the time of Numidicus' censorship.

If, therefore, the conclusions of the Lucilian experts are correct,—and they probably are,—we have further evidence, so far not utilized, that the speech containing the word *molestia*, ascribed by Gellius to Metellus Numidicus, should be referred to Metellus Macedonicus.

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²⁸ Thus Cichorius, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

²⁹ Note *ipsi, ultro*.

³⁰ Cf. Schmitt, *loc. cit.*

³¹ Pp. xxx ff.

³² Cichorius, Kappelmacher, *opp. cit.*; Hosius, in the third edition of Schanz's *Gesch. der römischen Literatur*; in the second edition Schanz followed Marx's opinion.

A NOTE ON THE SPELLING

ἐξάμου = ἐκ Σάμου.

The fifth line of the celebrated epigram¹ engraved beneath the statue of Lysander erected at Delphi to commemorate his victory at Aegospotami, a pentameter following two elegiac couplets, runs thus:

Ἐξάμο ἀμφιρύτ[ον]² τεῦξε ἐλεγείον : Ἴων.

The opening word undoubtedly stands for Ἐκ Σάμου³ and affords one of the two earliest examples hitherto recognised of the coalescence of the final κ of the preposition ἐκ with the initial σ of the following word in the single letter ξ. This phenomenon has received scant attention,⁴ and, while I cannot claim to have carried out a systematic search for examples, it may be of interest if I list here, in approximately chronological order, those which have come to my notice.

a) The instance already cited dates probably from 405/4 B. C., though according to Bourguet the inscription as we now have it is a renewal, made about seventy years later, of the original text. There is, however, no reason to suspect that this orthographical peculiarity was introduced at that time rather than taken over from the text as first engraved.

b) In *I. G.*, II², 1, 24 (Tod, *G. H. I.*, 96, 24), an Athenian decree passed in 405 B. C. and engraved in 403/2, we find the phrase τὸς ἐξάμο παρόντας.

c) The first line of an epigram from Priene, dated by von

¹ T. Homolle, *C. R. Acad. Inscr.*, 1901, pp. 681 ff.; H. Pomtow, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXI (1906), pp. 553 ff.; *S. I. G.*³, 115, note 2; E. Bourguet, *Fouilles de Delphes*, III (1), 50; F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *Hist. griech. Epigramme*, 58; M. N. Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, 95.

² The inconsistency in the representation of -ov is surprising, but the editors seem to have no doubt that two letters have been lost after ἀμφιρύτ-. Perhaps the true restoration is ἀμφιρύτ[ο:].

³ It is transcribed Ἐξάμο(ν) by Homolle, Ἐξ(Σ)άμο(ν) (*Ath. Mitt.*) or Ἐξάμο (*S. I. G.*) by Pomtow, Ἐ(κ Σ)άμο(ν) by Bourguet, ἐξάμου by von Hiller, Ἐξάμου by Tod.

⁴ It is treated most fully, so far as I know, by J. Zingerle, *Jahresh.*, XXX (1937), Beibl., pp. 153 f.

Hiller about 350 B. C., ends with the words Κύπριος γένος ἐξαλαμῖνος (*Inscr. Priene*, 196, 1).

d) In the Eleusinian temple-accounts for 329/8 B. C. this same form recurs with reference not to the Cyprian city but to the Athenian island of Salamis (*I. G.*, II², 1672, 274).

e) If von Hiller has correctly restored a very fragmentary epigram from the Epidaurian Asclepieum, probably honouring Gorgus son of Minnion of Iasus, its opening line ends τὸν ἐξά[μον ἀμφιρύτοιο (*I. G.*, IV² [1], 617, 1). On the basis of the script M. Fraenkel dated it not earlier than the third century B. C. (*I. G.*, IV, 1371).

f) The accounts of the Delian ἱεροποιοί for 282 B. C. contain the entry κε[ραμίδων] ζεύγη ἐπριάμεθα ἐξύρον (i. e. from the island of Syros) ἐβδομήκον[τα] (*I. G.*, XI [1], 158 A 85).

g) In a letter, dated 201 B. C., sent by the Cretan city of Sybrita to Teos, where it was publicly exhibited on stone, we read τῶν ὀρμιομένων ἐξυβριστας, which the editors have rightly corrected to ἐξυβρί[[σ]]τας (*S. G. D. I.*, 5170, 19, *Inscr. Cret.*, II, xxvi, 1*, 19).

h) In the accounts of the Delian ἱεροποιοί for 179 B. C. we find an entry Ἀμφικλείδαι Νάξιοι ἐκεκλίας Ἀπόλλωνι (*S. I. G.*², 588, 51, *Inscr. Délos*, 442 B 51).⁵

i) A metrical epitaph from Gortyn in Crete, dating from the second century B. C., contains, according to W. Peek, its latest editor (it will doubtless figure in *Inscr. Cret.*, IV, the publication of which is expected shortly), the phrase ἐξκοτίων εἰπέ μν[χῶν] τόδ' ἔπος (*Philol.*, LXXXVIII [1933], p. 148).⁶

j) In a *senatus consultum* of 112 B. C., published at Delphi, we find the phrase ἐξυγκλήτον δόγματος (*S. I. G.*³, 705, 60).⁷

k) A more dubious case is that of a sepulchral epigram from

⁵ This example is alluded to, without precise reference, by Homolle (*loc. cit.*, p. 682) and by Bourguet (*loc. cit.*, p. 27).

⁶ D. Levi, *Stud. Ital.*, N. S. II (1922), p. 359, wrote ἐκ σκοτιῶν εἰπέ μ[οι αὖ], which was corrected by A. Vogliano (*Riv. Fil.*, LIII [1925], p. 217; cf. *S. E. G.*, III, 781) to ἐκ σκοτίων εἰπέ μ[νχῶν], with the note "La pietra dà ΕΞΚΟΤΙΩΝ."

⁷ In *Fouilles de Delphes*, III (2), 70 a 60, G. Colin transcribes ἐ(κ σ)υγκλήτον, but notes in the *apparatus criticus* that the stone has ΕΞΤΓΚΛΗΤΟΤ.

Saittae in Lydia, dated A. D. 175, which, as copied by Hamilton, opens with the line Μητρᾶν ΚΞΑΗΟΥ⁸ ἔχει τάφος οὗτος ἄλνπον. The second word was regarded by Waddington (LeBas-Waddington, 1668) as a patronymic, which he transcribed [Ε]ξ[αδί]ου, by Kaibel (*Epigrammata Graeca*, 323) as Metras' patronymic or ethnic, by J. Zingerle (*Jahresh.*, XXX [1937], Beibl., pp. 153-4) as a corruption of ἐξάμου. This interpretation, ingenious as it is, leaves me unconvinced. Possibly ἐξ Ἄμου was intended, referring to the city of Ἄμος in the Rhodian Peraea,⁹ but I think the corruption is more deeply seated.

1) In discussing the case just mentioned Zingerle (*loc. cit.*, p. 153) corrects the [Εἰ]μὶ δὲ ἐξ Ὑγίας? of an epitaph of the Imperial period from Bergule in Thrace (*I. G. Rom.*, I, 774), which W. Kubitschek, its first editor, had transcribed ἐξ Ὑ[π]ίας? (*Arch. Ep. Mitt. Öst.*, XVII [1894], p. 55, No. 2), into [Εἰ]μὶ δὲ ἐξυρίας, and this emendation is accepted by L. Robert (*Les gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec*, p. 92, No. 29).

m, n, o) In three Attic epitaphs of the Roman Imperial period we have women described by the demotic phrase ἐξουνιέων (*I. G.*, III, 2012, 1, 2087, 2, and 2006, 2, where only ἐξο survives on the stone).¹⁰

The foregoing examples are all taken from inscriptions; I add two more, which occur in papyri.

p) *P. Lond.*, CCCLIV, 7 (II, p. 164), a petition dated about 10 B. C., refers to τὴν ἐξοῦ (= ἐκ σοῦ) δικά[ιοδοσίαν]?

q) *P. Lond.*, CCCXXXIV, 19 (II, p. 211), a receipt of A. D. 166, contains the phrase [κ]αθὼς ἐξυμφώνον ὑπηγ[ό]ρ[ευ]σαν.

The foregoing list makes no pretensions to completeness, but it does at least indicate that the phenomenon under consideration is not narrowly limited either in time or in space. It occurs from the closing years of the fifth century B. C. to the second or even

⁸ So W. J. Hamilton (*Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus and Armenia*, II, p. 467, No. 339); Kaibel, followed by Zingerle, wrongly gave E, for Hamilton's copy shows that throughout the inscription *sigma* has the form Κ. On Zingerle's article (*loc. cit.*, pp. 129 ff.) see the comments of L. Robert, *Études épigraphiques et philologiques*, pp. 248 ff.

⁹ Cf. L. Robert, *op. cit.*, p. 183, *Études Anatoliennes*, pp. 501 f.

¹⁰ Possibly the ΕΞΕΥΒΑΛΗΤΙΩΝ of *I. G.*, III, 2027, 2 (for which see Meisterhans-Schwyzler, *Grammatik der att. Inschriften*, p. 105, § 41, 1, c) represents ἐξυπαληττίων.

the third century A. D., and it is found in Attica, Epidaurus, and Delphi on the mainland of Greece, on the islands of Delos and Crete, in Thrace, in Asia Minor, and in Egypt. Moreover, it appears alike in prose and in verse, with nouns, pronouns, and adjectives, and, although in twelve of the sixteen certain examples cited above, including the first eight, the second element of the compound is a geographical term, yet it is not, at least from the second century onward, confined to such cases (see i, j, p, q above).

But we can, I believe, discover some instances earlier than any hitherto noticed and claimed as such. In Liddell-Scott-Jones, *Greek Lexicon*, s. v. $\epsilon\kappa$ we read " $\epsilon\chi$ freq. in Att. Inserr. before $\chi \phi \theta$ (and in early Inserr. before σ , *IG* 1². 304. 20)." ¹¹ This represents the view hitherto accepted without question, but it calls for re-examination.

In the first place, while the use of the form $\epsilon\chi$ before ϕ , θ , and χ is intelligible, there seems to be no phonological justification for its employment before σ . Secondly, it is antecedently improbable that this phenomenon should be restricted to Attica and should, moreover, appear only in inscriptions engraved in the local Attic alphabet and dating from the period between 418 and 409 B. C. Thirdly, the misunderstanding, if such there be, admits of an easy explanation. In the Attic alphabet the letter Ξ has no place, and the sound ξ is invariably denoted in inscriptions by $X\Sigma$. If, therefore, we meet the letters $EX\Sigma AMO$ we are free to transcribe them either as $\epsilon\chi \Sigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\omicron$ or as $\epsilon\chi\sigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\omicron$ (i. e. $\epsilon\xi\acute{\alpha}\mu\omicron$). The former alternative, followed by all scholars hitherto, is open to the objections above stated; the latter, which I now regard as preferable, merely adds a few more examples of a phenomenon which, as we have already seen, is attested in all parts of the Greek world from 405 B. C. down to the Roman Imperial period, and extends backwards for some ten years its recorded history. These examples are the following:

¹¹ On the treatment $\epsilon\kappa$, $\epsilon\xi$ in Attic inscriptions see Meisterhans-Schwyzler, *op. cit.*, pp. 105 ff. In note 951 (p. 106) $\epsilon\chi \Sigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\omicron(v)$ and $\epsilon\chi \Sigma\alpha\mu\iota\omega\nu$ are quoted from *C. I. A.*, I, 188, 20, 34 and 56, b, 7 respectively (= *I. G.*, I², 304 a 20, 34 and 101, 17). As Meisterhans-Schwyzler remark (*op. cit.*, p. 106, § 3), "the fact that the form $\epsilon\chi$ might occasionally overstep the limits of its province is shown by $\epsilon\chi$ (= $\epsilon\gamma$) $\Delta\epsilon\sigma\beta\omicron\nu$ (368 B. C.) *CIA*. II, add. 52, c. 8" (= *I. G.*, II², 107, 8). The latest appearance of $\epsilon\chi$ known to them is $\epsilon\chi \theta\acute{\alpha}\tau[\tau]\omicron\nu$ in *I. G.*, II², 713, 12 (early 3rd century B. C.).

a) In *I. G.*, I², 302, 17/18, a statement of the payments made by the Treasurers of Athena in 418/17 B. C., probably engraved in 414, we have παρέδομεν τῷ ἐχσ |²⁰..... πελθόντος. Accepting a proposal of B. D. Meritt,¹² I wrote (*G. H. I.*, 75, 18/19) τοῦ ἐχ Σ|[άμον κατὰ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐ]πελθόντος, which I preferred to A. B. West's suggestion τοῦ ἐχσ | [Σάμον κατὰ ἡομολογίαν ἀ]πελθόντος. I would now write τοῦ ἐχσ|[άμου κτλ.

b) In an Attic decree of 412/11 B. C. we find the phrase ὅποσοι δ[έ] ἐσι ἐχ Σαμίον (*I. G.* I², 101, 17), where again I suggest ἐχσαμίον (i. e. ἐξαμίον).

c) In *I. G.*, I², 304 a 20 (= Tod, *G. H. I.*, 83, 20), a record of payments made in 410/09 B. C. by the Treasurers of Athena, we have for the 30th day of the 6th prytany the entry τὰ ἐχ Σάμο ἀνομολογέθε, which I now transcribe τὰ ἐχσάμον ἀνωμολογήθη.

d) A very similar phrase occurs in line 34 of the same document (omitted from *I. G.*, I², Index, s. v. Σάμος), relating to the 36th day of the 9th prytany.

The changes so effected are, it must be admitted, very slight, but they do at least offer a solution of a puzzle in Athenian phonetics.

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¹² Cf. B. D. Meritt, *Athenian Financial Documents*, p. 160.

THE "VOLATILIZATION" OF PEREGRINUS PROTEUS.

Lucian's account of the self-immolation of Peregrinus Proteus contains certain inconsistencies which, occurring in a satire, should not give undue concern to critics. It has been observed, for example, that Peregrinus' invocation to his *δαίμονες μητρώοι καὶ πατρώοι* (*Peregr.* 36), a phrase most naturally taken in the sense of *di manes*, and the reference to his "couriers" and "messengers of the dead" (*νευτεροδρόμοι, νεκράγγελοι, ibid.* 41), would imply a contemplated visit to the lower world, while his assertion that he proposed to die like Heracles and to "be mingled with the aether" (*ἀναμιχθῆναι τῷ αἰθέρι, 33*), would point to a heavenward ascent.¹ There can be no reasonable doubt, however, that he chose a method of suicide which was normally thought to bring immortality, if not a sort of apotheosis. As Sir James Frazer once pointed out, he had other precedents for burning himself alive, apart from Heracles and Empedocles, whose example he avowedly followed: such Oriental monarchs as Sardanapalus, Semiramis, and Hamilcar had chosen to die in this fashion, and Croesus had at least prepared to do so.² All were apparently convinced that they would thereby be purified and raised to the gods, and Hamilcar as well as Heracles received worship after his death,³ just as Peregrinus came to be regarded

¹ See R. Holland, "Zur Typik der Himmelfahrt," *Arch. f. Religionswiss.*, XXIII (1925), pp. 207-20, especially p. 210.

² In the account of Bacchylides (III, 24-62), Croesus prepares to immolate himself and his family voluntarily rather than to suffer slavery at the hands of the Persians. Rain sent by Zeus quenches the fire, and Croesus is removed to the land of the Hyperboreans by Apollo. In the account of Herodotus (I, 86-87), Croesus is about to be burned alive by order of Cyrus. When Cyrus repents of his purpose but the fire cannot be quenched by mortal means, it is Apollo, in answer to Croesus' prayer, who sends the quenching rain. Both versions seem to represent an attempt by the Delphic priesthood to clear Apollo of ingratitude toward a man who had shown such great generosity to their divine bard. On the relations of Croesus and Cyrus, see Weissbach, *R.-E.*, Suppl. V, cols. 462-5.

³ J. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris* (3rd ed., New York, 1935), pp. 172-85; cf. the same writer's *The Dying God* (New York, 1935), p. 42. The case of the hunter Broteas (cf. Apollodorus, *Epit.*, II, 2) was different:

as a beneficent and prophetic daemon. Further, I believe there are indications that Theagenes, his disciple, represented that Peregrinus had been borne aloft to the lunar paradise which figured in contemporary Pythagoreanism and Platonism, and this idea has a special interest because of the circumstance that Lucian's piece is addressed to one Cronius, commonly identified with the Neoplatonist of that name who was associated with the better-known Numenius. Accordingly I shall attempt to discuss and annotate the sections of the text which appear to support this view.

After the cremation had taken place, Lucian says he himself had maliciously spread the word among the credulous that he had seen a vulture fly up to heaven from the midst of the flames (*Peregr.* 39). It is of course desirable to interpret the passage consistently with that (*Icar.* 3; 10) in which Menippus tells how he flew to the moon with two wings, one an eagle's and the other a vulture's. Since the eagle was orthodox in the apotheosis of Roman emperors,⁴ most commentators have assumed that the vulture's wing was combined with the eagle's in order to secure a grotesque effect, and that the vulture in the *Peregrinus* is a parodic substitution for the more highly esteemed bird.⁵ Some

he scorned Artemis, insisted that he could not be injured even by fire and, driven mad, leaped into the flames. Cf. Ovid, *Ib.* 517 f., where, however, the interpretation is uncertain (for a discussion, see R. Ellis, *P. Ovidii Nasonis Ibis* [Oxford, 1881], "Excursus," pp. 183-5). On the Brahman Calanus, mentioned in *Peregr.* 25, who cremated himself in the time of Alexander, cf. Cicero, *Div.*, I, 23, 47, *Tusc.*, II, 22, 52; Plutarch, *Alex.* 67; Strabo, XV, 1, 64. Another Indian sage, one Zarmanochegas or Zarmarus, burned himself in Athens in the presence of Augustus (Strabo, XV, 1, 73; Cassius Dio, LIV, 9).

⁴ See F. Cumont, "L'aigle funéraire des Syriens et l'apothéose des empereurs," *Rev. Hist. Rel.*, LXII (1910), pp. 119-63. Cf. Herodian, IV, 2, 11 on the general custom of releasing an eagle from the pyre; on the apotheosis of Augustus, cf. Dio, LVI, 42; of Pertinax, *id.*, LXXV, 5. According to Artemidorus, I, 20, it was a premonition of death for a ruler to dream that he was mounted upon an eagle's back.

⁵ Cf. G. Weicker, *Der Seelenvogel in der alten Litteratur und Kunst* (Leipzig, 1902), p. 22; R. Helm, *Lucian u. Menipp* (Leipzig u. Berlin, 1906), pp. 104-6; Cumont, *loc. cit.*, p. 135; O. Weinreich, "De dis ignotis quaestiones selectae," *Arch. f. Religionswiss.*, XVIII (1915), pp. 1-52, especially p. 37, n. 1. R. Reitzenstein (*Hellenistische Wundererzählungen* [Leipzig, 1906], p. 21) suggested that the vulture was a legitimate substitution because it was a sacred bird in Egyptian religion

such overtone may have been intended, it is true, yet it should be noted that the vulture could conceivably fly to heaven in his own right, because there was a tradition extending back to Herodorus Ponticus, the mythographer of the late fifth century before Christ, according to which vultures were thought to be visitors from another world, or, more precisely, from the moon.⁶ Consequently, in *Vera Historia*, I, 11, Endymion's minions, the Ἰπρόγυπτοι, described as men mounted on huge, three-headed vultures, are fitting denizens of moonland. As is well known, the *Vera Historia* owes much to Antonius Diogenes' lost romance about "ultima Thule,"⁷ so there may be a double tradition unless Herodorus, who, in a similarly fantastic vein, tells us that the women dwelling on the moon lay eggs and that the offspring so produced are fifteen times as tall as we, may be assumed to have influenced both of these later extravaganzas.

While returning from Harpina, the scene of the Cynic's death, to the Altis at Olympia, Lucian encountered a venerable old man who solemnly related that not long before he had beheld Peregrinus robed in white and had just left him walking about in the Echo Colonnade, radiant, and crowned with wild olive (*Peregr.* 40). No doubt many a reader, before Weinreich⁸ and after, has been reminded of the story about Julius Proculus, who reported, in Plutarch's version,⁹ that he had seen a vision of

(cf. O. Keller, *R.-E.*, s. v. "Geier," VII, cols. 931-5); and according to Artemidorus, I, 8, it was so regarded in Italy as well. In A. Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie* (2nd ed., Leipzig u. Berlin, 1910), p. 204, n. 2, Wünsch, the editor of the second edition, remarked that the eagle of the Mithras ritual says οὐρανὸν βάλω, while Lucian's vulture shrills in Doric, ἔλιπον γὰρ, βάλω δ' ἐς Ὀλυμπον.

⁶ Herodorus, frag. 22 a, ed. F. Jacoby, *F. Gr. H.*, I, p. 219 (Aristotle, *H. A.*, 6, 5 [563 A 5]); cf. Plutarch, *Rom.* 9. That this world was the moon is the usual inference from frag. 21 (Athenaeus, II, 57 F). Cf. Holland, *loc. cit.*, p. 211.

⁷ Photius, *Bibl.*, pp. 109-12, ed. Bekker (Berlin, 1824).

⁸ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 35-8. There were others who claimed (and were sometimes rewarded for doing so) that certain personages had appeared to them after death: Augustus (Suetonius, *Aug.* 100; Dio, LVI, 46); Drusilla, sister of Caligula (Dio, LIX, 11); Claudius (Seneca, *Apocol.* 1). The Christian apologists made mock of such superstition (Justin Martyr, *Apol.* 21; Tatian, *Adv. Graecos* 10: the case of Antinōus, who was wafted to the moon—cf. Julian, *Caesares* 311 D, satirizing Hadrian's search for him there).

⁹ *Rom.* 28. Cf. Cicero, *Rep.*, II, 10, 20, *Leg.*, I, 1, 3; Livy, I, 16, 5-8;

Romulus, fair and tall as never in his lifetime, and bearing weapons that flashed like fire. The king had addressed him, saying it was the gods' decree that he should return to heaven, whence he had come, and that he was to be known thereafter as Quirinus, a friendly daemon (εὐμενὴς δαίμων). After briefly recounting, for purposes of comparison, the strange deaths of the heroes Aristeas and Cleomedes, Plutarch digresses and philosophizes about the soul's release from the body and its consequent purification—that soul is best, according to Heraclitus, which, being dry (ξηρά), darts from the body like lightning through a cloud, but the soul replete with and defiled by bodily substance is like a heavy, murky vapor, released with difficulty and slow to ascend. This idea seems to have enjoyed a certain currency among the Neoplatonists; Porphyry, for example, quotes Heraclitus to the effect that "the dry soul is wisest" when he asserts that the souls of the dead can become perceptible by gathering moist air.¹⁰ Now Theagenes had declared that his master would leave the ranks of men and go to join the gods, "riding upon the fire" (ὀχοῦμενος ἐπὶ τοῦ πυρός, 6), and it was his desire, as noted before, to "be mingled with the aether" (33); likewise it was suggested that his followers had better be looking about for a place where they, too, might "volatilize" themselves (ἐαυτοὺς ἐξαερώσουσι)—"for this is what they call cremation" (τοῦτο γὰρ τὴν καῦσιν καλοῦσι, 30). Of the few contexts of ἐξαέρωσις in Greek I have found none that is directly pertinent here, but the implication seems to be that the soul of Peregrinus, when "volatilized" or perhaps "vaporized" by the flames, would lose all of its fleshly moisture and be speedily absorbed into the world-soul of fire or aether. Conversely, if the principle were to be consistently applied, his soul might later regain visibility by

Ovid, *Fast.*, II, 499-508; Dionysius Halicarn., II, 63; Florus, I, 1, 18; Aurelius Victor, *Vir. Ill.*, II, 13 f.

¹⁰ Porphyry, *Antr.* 11 (p. 64, lines 21 f., ed. Nauck²): ὁ αὐτὸς δὲ φησιν Ἡράκλειτος "ξηρὰ ψυχὴ σοφωτάτη" (Heraclitus, frags. LXXIV-VI, ed. Bywater, 118 Diels). Cf. Porphyry, *Abst.*, IV, 20 (p. 264, lines 4-8, ed. Nauck²), where the principle is applied to vegetarianism: the soul that inhabits a dry body, so that it is not saturated with the juices resulting from a meat diet, is incorruptible and more intelligent. The Heraclitean wet and dry souls are elucidated by R. B. English, "Heraclitus and the Soul," *T. A. P. A.*, XLIV (1913), pp. 163-84, especially 178; he shows that for Heraclitus ἀήρ meant *vapor* rather than *air*.

momentarily suffering an access of moisture. The striking phrase *ὀχούμενος ἐπὶ τοῦ πυρός* may mean simply that he would ride aloft on the flames from the pyre, somewhat as Empedocles, according to Lucian, was carried upward by the smoke from Aetna (*Icar.* 13), but considering the quasi-philosophical setting in which the phrase appears and the fact that, being attributed to Theagenes, it can hardly have been used with humorous intent, I venture to suggest that it may refer to the Neoplatonic doctrine of the *ὄχημα*, a kind of fiery envelope (*περίβλημα*) which enclosed the soul, protected it, and served it as a "vehicle."¹¹

Romulus revealed his "daemonic" name of Quirinus after his death,¹² while Peregrinus must have assumed his cognomen of Proteus some years before he decided to take his life—just when, there is no means of saying.¹³ Originally, it may have been

¹¹ F. Cumont, *After Life in Roman Paganism* (New Haven, 1922), pp. 41, 169; F. Rösche, *Das Seelenpneuma, seine Entwicklung von der Hauchseele zur Geistseele* (*Studien zur Geschichte u. Kultur des Altertums*, XVIII, no. 3 [Paderborn, 1933]), p. 54; and R. C. Kissling, "The *ὄχημα-πνεῦμα* of the Neo-Platonists and the *De insomniis* of Synesius of Cyrene," *A. J. P.*, XLIII (1922), pp. 318-30, especially 323, where he comments, with reference to Porphyry, *loc. cit.* (see note 10): "... the *ὄχημα-πνεῦμα* was capable in its extra-corporeal state of being thickened by moisture, of becoming dark and murky through hylic attraction and thus visible." Perhaps the most detailed discussion is that of E. R. Dodds, *Proclus: The Elements of Theology* (Oxford, 1933), pp. 313-21.

Iamblichus (*Myst.*, III, 14) says that the *ὄχημα* shines with a divine radiance which, when the gods so will it, may affect our mortal perceptions. To be sure, it is doubtful whether this explanation could be perfectly reconciled with Porphyry's, but epiphanies of heroes or daemons are rationalized, and one can understand, in the Neoplatonic sense, why Peregrinus, having been "volatilized" at the death of his mortal part, was "radiant" (*φαιδρός*) at his reappearance.

¹² In the emperor Julian's *Caesares* (307 B-C) we find Heracles, Romulus, and the deified Caesars dwelling in the paradise of the moon, and special emphasis is laid on Romulus' daemonic name: *Θύων ὁ Ῥωμύλος τὰ Κρόνια πάντας ἐκάλει τοὺς θεοὺς, καὶ δὴ καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς Καίσαρας . . . λέγεται γὰρ μεθ' Ἡρακλέα παρελθεῖν ἐκεῖσε καὶ ὁ Κυρίνος, ᾧ δὴ χρὴ καλεῖν αὐτὸν ὀνόματι, τῇ θείᾳ πειθομένους φήμῃ. τοῖς μὲν οὖν θεοῖς ἐκείσε παρεσκεύαστο τὸ συμπόσιον· ὑπ' αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν σελήνην ἐπὶ μετεώρου τοῦ ἀέρος ἐδέδοκτο τοὺς Καίσαρας δειπνεῖν.*

¹³ According to Lucian, he was still called Peregrinus during his Christian phase, while imprisoned in Palestine (*ὁ βέλτιστος Περειγρίνος—ἔτι γὰρ τοῦτο ἐκαλεῖτο*, 12). His studies in Egypt (17) and his visit to Rome (18) had intervened. It was perhaps in A. D. 153 that he had

intended as no more than a boast of mental prowess and versatility,¹⁴ but it must have seemed apt in another sense after the bronze statue set up in his honor at Parium, his native town, had gained a reputation as an oracle.¹⁵ We note, at any rate, this special point of resemblance to the case of Romulus, that Peregrinus also became a friendly daemon. As a "daemon that keeps watch by night" (δαίμων νυκτοφύλαξ, *Peregr.* 27) or a "night-ranging hero" (29), he was thought to have the power of curing quartan fevers—for it has long been recognized that what Lucian expresses as a prediction had in reality come to pass by the time his polemic was written. The beliefs connected with the statue were of course at a superstitious rather than a philosophical level, because the simple folk who sought intimations of the future or relief from physical afflictions must have had but slight appreciation of doctrinal nuances.

The known parallelism in certain details between the careers of Peregrinus and Apollonius of Tyana may have some bearing upon the present problem because of the hypothesis which was proposed in order to explain it. We are told by Philostratus (*V. A.*, I, 4) that when Apollonius' mother was pregnant with him there appeared to her a vision of Proteus, "the Egyptian daemon," announcing that she would give birth to none other than himself. The circumstances of his death were equally remarkable: he ran into the temple of Dictynna in Crete, the doors closed after him, and he was seen no more, though a chant of maidens was heard from within, as they sang (in Doric, like

come to Athens, then to Elis (19; see K. v. Fritz, *R.-E.*, XIX, 1, col. 660). Aulus Gellius had visited him in Athens at this time, and his phrasing (*XII*, 11: . . . Peregrinum, cui postea cognomentum Proteus factum est . . .) would imply that he had not acquired the appendage even then. Considering the associations of the name, however, it is natural to assume that it was somehow connected with his sojourn in Egypt.

Such double names have a curious psychological interest, as is brought out by O. Weinreich, *Menekrates Zeus und Salmones* (*Tübinger Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft*, XVIII [Stuttgart, 1933]), pp. 64 ff. (Weinreich oddly neglected to cite Peregrinus as an example, but I think his case is similar, in several important respects, to that of Menekrates.)

¹⁴ Hazel M. Hornsby, "The Cynicism of Peregrinus Proteus," *Hermathena*, XLVIII (1933), pp. 65-84, especially 75.

¹⁵ Athenagoras, *Apol.* 26 (J. Geffcken, *Zwei griechische Apologeten*, pp. 145 f.).

Lucian's vulture) : *στεῖχε γὰς, στεῖχε ἐς οὐρανόν, στεῖχε* (*ibid.*, VIII, 30). And later Apollonius appeared in a vision to one in Tyana who doubted his immortality, and so convinced the unbeliever.¹⁶ Here the ascension and epiphany are preceded by an annunciation. It was Reitzenstein who suggested that Theagenes had written an aretalogy or a *laudatio funebris* of his master which borrowed from some legendary biography of Pythagoras and certain points of which, such as the comparison with Heracles (*Peregr.* 5) and the example of the Brahmans (25), were selected by Lucian for ridicule.¹⁷ Theagenes, then, played the role of Damis to Peregrinus' Apollonius. The interest of Reitzenstein's theory here is that the phrases "riding upon the fire," "being mingled with the aether," and "volatilization," are attributed respectively to Theagenes, Peregrinus, and the companions of both, with the result that these ideas may not have been mere inventions of Lucian's, but, what makes them more important, they may have formed a part of the eulogy to which Lucian wrote the *Peregrinus* in rebuttal. Critics should therefore weigh the possibility that Theagenes included an epiphany or some such episode in the biography which he composed, and that, like Plutarch's account of the epiphany of Romulus, it was flavored by certain philosophical doctrines then in vogue.¹⁸ Of Theagenes' historicity there can be doubt, because

¹⁶ Note that in the verses which Apollonius is supposed to have recited about the soul on this occasion, he said, *inter alia*, that it *κεράννυται ἡ ἐπὶ κούφῳ*. Cf. *ἀναμυθῆναι τῷ αἰθέρι* (*Peregr.* 33).

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. 37 ff. Reitzenstein conjectured that Lucian was not an actual eye-witness to the event, but had an informant in the unnamed adversary of Theagenes who is represented as having delivered the lengthy counterblast to Theagenes' own speech (*Peregr.* 7-30). Cf. Marcel Caster, *Lucien et la pensée religieuse de son temps* (Paris, 1937), p. 253. Even the point about the vulture, Reitzenstein believed (cf. p. 50 of his study), was really not Lucian's own invention but originated with Theagenes. Alexander of Abonutichus, that undoubted charlatan who received honors at Parium similar to those accorded Peregrinus (cf. Athenagoras, in note 15), was also something of a Pythagorean: he compared himself to Pythagoras (*Alex.* 4) and his teacher was a former adherent of Apollonius of Tyana, of whom Lucian speaks with evident contempt (*ibid.* 5).

¹⁸ It is not clear whether Lucian had the tale of Julius Proculus, and particularly Plutarch's version of it, definitely in mind, and it is of course even less clear what relation it may have had to Theagenes'

Galen has left a detailed report of his last illness and death;¹⁹ unfortunately, however, the small shred of evidence which one would like to adduce in order to raise Reitzenstein's theory to the level of fact does not clearly admit of the requisite interpretation.²⁰

M. Caster has paid some attention to Lucian's demonology, although he has neglected to study Peregrinus in this aspect.²¹ After briefly reviewing the history of this difficult subject from Xenocrates down through Posidonius to such contemporaries of Lucian as Apuleius, Plutarch, and Maximus of Tyre, he notes that Lucian himself has relatively little to say about daemons in view of the likelihood that they would have furnished excellent material for satire, and he suggests in explanation that they were simply not a traditional theme. An examination of the *Philopseudes* appears to support his contention that the daemons which figure there are little more than phantoms or evil genii. In *Philops.* 30-31 the daemon is merely a ghost in a haunted house,

account. Yet the resemblance exists (a further point: Lucian's invention [39] of the earth-tremors recalls the weather phenomena in *Rom.* 27), and if it is simply a parody of Plutarch it is not the sole instance on record, because E. Rohde, *Psyche*, II (4th ed., Tübingen, 1907), p. 363, n. 3, observed that *Philops.* 25 parodies or is at least somehow dependent upon the story from Plutarch, *De anima*, preserved in Eusebius, *P. E.*, XI, 36.

¹⁹ Cf. Galen, X, pp. 909-15, ed. Kühn; *R.-E.*, V A 2, cols. 1348 f.

²⁰ The treatise on epideictic oratory by Menander, the rhetorical theorist of the third century, contains a short notice which might be taken as implying that a *παράδοξον ἐγκώμιον* of "Proteus the Cynic" was extant at that time (cf. Spengel, *Rhetores Graeci*, III, p. 346, lines 17-19: *παράδοξα δὲ οἷον Ἀλκιδάμαντος τὸ τοῦ θανάτου ἐγκώμιον, ἢ τὸ τῆς Πενίας ἢ τοῦ Πρωτέως τοῦ κυνός*). If it meant beyond a doubt that he was the subject, and not the author of such an encomium, it might refer nicely to Theagenes' own work, which, at least to harsh critics like Lucian, might have seemed to embody as much of a paradox as the praise of poverty or of death; one finds it a little difficult to imagine why any writer who was remote from the controversy that centered about Peregrinus would have made so complex an individual as he the subject of such an exercise to the neglect of some more obvious choice, such as a legendary personage, an abstract idea, or a universal pest or nuisance. But A. S. Pease, in his important article "Things without Honor," *Class. Phil.*, XXI (1926), pp. 27-42, thinks of Proteus as the author rather than the subject (cf. p. 29; p. 39, n. 7), and he may well be right.

²¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 212-24.

though there is some slight interest in reading that it was a Pythagorean, one Arignotus, who drove it out by the use of Egyptian charms. Elsewhere (*ibid.* 17) daemons of day and night are mentioned, but here, seemingly, both kinds are unfriendly because they are warded off by magical means, so that the passage is of no help in understanding Peregrinus as a "daemon that watches by night." And the picture of demoniac possession (*ibid.* 16) calls to mind rather the popular superstition encountered repeatedly in Biblical and patristic literature.²² In fact Caster finds only one passage in all of Lucian where δαίμων appears in anything like a philosophical sense; but this, fortunately, has a certain relevance to our subject. It is *Icar.* 13, where, as Menippus is peering uncertainly down from the moon toward the earth, Empedocles appears behind him, covered with soot and dust. Menippus is startled at the sight and fancies at first that he sees a "lunar daemon" (σεληναῖος δαίμων), but Empedocles introduces himself and tells how the smoke from Aetna carried him to the moon, where he now abides. When he offers to help the other get a better view of the earth, Menippus thanks him and promises that after he flies down once more to Greece he will pray to him on the first of every month, gaping up at the moon. Peregrinus was compared to Empedocles by Theagenes (*Peregr.* 4; cf. 1; 5), and Lucian ascribes to both the same motives for having taken their lives, namely, vainglory, melancholy, and driveling idiocy (cf. *D. Mort.*, XX, 4; *Peregr.* 2, 4; *Fug.* 2). The lunar afterworld, where we find Empedocles, and to which Peregrinus, following his example, would himself have fittingly gone, is of course travestied further in the *Vera Historia* (I, 11 ff.), and is met in soberer guise in the writings of Plutarch, notably in the *De facie in orbe lunae*,²³ where we

²² Cf. Julius Tambornino, *De antiquorum daemonismo* (Giessen, 1909), p. 16 and *passim*.

²³ See Caster, *op. cit.*, pp. 289-93, for Lucian's treatment of the paradise of the moon. For Plutarch and others, cf. Carlo Pascal, *Le credenze d'oltretomba*, II (Torino, 1924), pp. 102-5. The question of the sources used in the *De facie* is a vexed one. E. Norden, *Aeneis Buch VI* (Leipzig, 1907), pp. 23-5, favored Posidonius, but the important study by H. v. Arnim, "Plutarch über Dämonen und Mantik," in *Verhandelingen der koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam*, XXII (1921) showed that it is really a more complex problem, because Posidonius is not the only source. According to W. Stettner, *Die Seelen-*

read (28 [*Moralia* 943 C]) of souls that have left the body and must wander about in the space between the earth and the moon for an unequal period of time, according as, being sinful, they must pay the penalty for their wrongdoing or, being righteous, are to tarry for a time in the mildest region of the air, so as to be cleansed of fleshly pollution. The daemons dwell on the moon but do not always remain there: sometimes they come down to the earth to take charge of oracles, attend rites of initiation, and the like (*ibid.* 30 [944 C-D]). Let us notice also a unique passage in Porphyry which gives the connecting link between souls and daemons. All of those souls which, sprung from the whole soul of the universe, inhabit great portions of the places beneath the moon and which control a pneumatic substance conformably to reason and are incumbent upon it—these are to be considered good daemons who produce such beneficial things as rain, moderate winds, fair weather, music, and gymnastics; while all the souls that fail to control the pneumatic substance with which they are joined, and are rather controlled, agitated, and borne along by it whenever its moods and desires gain impetus, would also be termed daemons, but of the malicious, evil-working variety (*κακοεργοί*).²⁴ This text is interesting not only because it attempts to explain the origin of the two classes of lunar daemons, but also because that theory involves the relation of the daemons to their *πνεύματα* or *όχήματα*. Further, Porphyry gives *τῶν Πλατωνικῶν τινες* as the source for this section of his work, and it has been shown that it is probably based upon a treatise by Numenius, the Neoplatonist and colleague of Cronius.²⁵ Inas-

wanderung bei Griechen u. Römern (*Tübinger Beitr. zur Altertumswiss.*, XXII [1934]), p. 56, Plutarch's theories are a "colorful mosaic," showing the influence of Plato, Stoicism, Pythagoreanism, and Posidonius, not to mention a certain amount of original speculation. Posidonius is known to have written a treatise *Περὶ ἡρώων καὶ δαιμόνων* (cf. Macrobius, *Sat.*, I, 23, 7), and one wonders whether Romulus may not have figured in it.

²⁴ Porphyry, *Abst.*, II, 38 (p. 167, lines 8-18 and 167, line 26—168, line 5, ed. Nauck²). Kissling, *loc. cit.*, p. 325, points out in connection with this passage that an *όχημα* or *πνεῦμα* was ascribed to the daemon as well as to the soul.

²⁵ F. Thedinga, "Die Paraenese in des Porphyrios Schrift *Περὶ ἀποχῆς ἐμψύχων*," *Rh. Mus.*, LXXVI (1927), pp. 54-101. R. Heinze, *Xenocrates* (Leipzig, 1892), pp. 120-3, had maintained that Porphyry made use of

much as Lucian seems in the *Peregrinus* to be making sport of such teachings as these, Caster expressed some doubt as to whether Lucian's friend was really identical, after all, with the known author of a treatise *Περὶ παλιγγενεσίας*,²⁶ although he conceded that there is some evidence for the identification in the fact observed by Helm, that the formula of greeting, εὖ πράττειν, is cited as Platonic by Lucian himself (cf. *Laps.* 4), and is used again when the *Nigrinus* is addressed to the individual of that name described as ὁ Πλατωνικὸς φιλόσοφος (2). But Reitzenstein's theory, as developed above, might serve to dispose of Caster's objection, because any such affront to Cronius would have been committed by Theagenes rather than by Lucian. Might not a serious philosopher have been offended, or at least amused, by the spectacle of an itinerant Cynic, who would presumably have no belief whatever in the immortality of the soul, claiming the sanctions of philosophy for an act of exhibitionism?

Although, as we have seen, *Peregrinus* was from all indications a candidate for a trip to the moon, that planet is mentioned only once, in the passage where we are told that before proceeding with his act he waited for the moon to rise in the heavens (36); Lucian adds that of course it was necessary for the moon to behold that fine piece of work. Zielinski, in an endeavor to prove that the burning of Heracles in the *Trachinians* took place on the day before the last night of the Attic month of Skirophorion and of the Greek lunar year generally, based his argument on the assumption that *Peregrinus*, in his decision to die like Heracles, chose the time of the waning moon for his act.²⁷ This is supported by his observation that Lucian, who says he was given a ride to Harpina by a friend, set out about midnight (*Peregr.* 35), and since the moon in its last quarter rises about midnight while the new moon rises at about six in the morning, the text

some late Platonist who in turn owed much to Xenocrates, the virtual originator, after Plato, of the doctrine of daemons, while W. Bousset, "Zur Dämonologie der späteren Antike," *Arch. f. Religionswiss.*, XVIII (1915), pp. 134-72, had supported Cumont's thesis of an Iranian source. Perhaps these suggestions are not wholly incompatible, because Cronius and Numenius are known to have had an interest in Zoroaster.

²⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 247 f. A fair idea of Cronius' methods of interpretation and his position in philosophy can be had from various extant writers (see K. Praechter, s. v. "Kronios," *R.-E.*, XI, cols. 1978-82).

²⁷ *Philol.*, LV (1896), pp. 579 f.

would refer to the last phase of the waning moon. Lucian's friend knew that if they left at midnight they would arrive in good time, so the event must have been conveniently scheduled, in the absence of modern timepieces, for the hour of the moon's rising. This may be an adequate interpretation, but it may be submitted that the choice of hour may have had an added appropriateness because Peregrinus' death and his rebirth as a lunar daemon would coincide with the death and rebirth of the moon.²⁸

This, however, is secondary to the main contention. The view that Peregrinus and his followers were in some degree influenced by contemporary speculation on the ascent of the soul is found to be supported by items of evidence which, though admittedly somewhat exiguous, are too definite to be wholly brushed aside,²⁹ once they are seen in relation to one another.

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²⁸ On the belief that various human conditions and activities are in harmony with the waxing or waning of the moon, cf. Firmicus Maternus, *Math.*, IV, 1, 5; Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, Chap. IX, "The Doctrine of Lunar Sympathy," pp. 305-13. In *Fug.* 1, Apollo says Selene told him she had seen Peregrinus burning; but the authenticity of this dialogue has been called into question.

²⁹ In her valuable article (*loc. cit.* in note 14) Miss Hornsby examined the unorthodox features of Peregrinus' Cynicism severally, and after reviewing what is known of his relation to Apollonius of Tyana and Alexander of Abonutichus, she concluded (p. 77): "... in an age of syncretism, it is not wise to be too dogmatic; nevertheless, the hypothesis that Peregrinus was to some extent a Neo-Pythagorean has less to commend it than would appear at first sight." The present comments are intended as a slight corrective to this statement.

SOME PROPOSALS FOR CHANGES IN THE TEXT OF MARTIN OF BRAGA'S *DE IRA*.

St. Martin of Braga's short moral essay entitled *De Ira* has been the object of careful scrutiny which goes back at least to 1883, when C. P. Caspari gave an account of the manuscript tradition and indicated the numerous parallels to Seneca's work bearing the same title.¹ The substance of his observations respecting the manuscripts may be stated briefly as follows: The work was first made known by Tamayo Salazar in a *Martyrologium Hispanicum* (more accurately, *Anamnesis sive Commemoratio Sanctorum Hispanorum*), published at Lyon in 1651, and was based probably on a manuscript owned by Garsias de Loaysa, to which Salazar expressly attributes his text of the three essays of Martin immediately preceding the *De Ira*, namely *Pro Repellenda Iactantia*, *De Superbia*, and *Exhortatio Humilitatis*. A second edition was brought out in 1759 by H. Florez at Madrid in *España Sagrada*; ² he made use of Salazar's text, but relied also upon two manuscripts of his own, one from the royal library at Madrid, the other from Toledo. The subsequent, and more familiar, editions of Gallandi and Migne were not original, for Gallandi, who introduced some conjectural emendations (not, incidentally, all recorded as deviations from the manuscript readings) and divided the work, previously apportioned into three sections, into preface and nine chapters with separate headings, took Salazar's text as his starting point,³ and Migne merely reprinted Gallandi with occasional changes in punctuation.⁴ As might be expected, nothing is known regarding the fate of Salazar's or Florez's manuscripts.⁵ The literary parallels discussed by Caspari follow the chapter division that Gallandi adopted, and the sources in Seneca are matched against the borrowings. Caspari proposed two textual changes, one an emendation of Martin, the other a rephrasing of Seneca, based

¹ *Martin von Bracara's Schrift De Correctione Rusticorum* (Christiania, 1883).

² Vol. XV, pp. 406-13.

³ *Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum* (Venice, 1788), XII, pp. 284-6.

⁴ *Patrologia Latina* (Paris, 1878), LXXII, pp. 42-48.

⁵ Caspari, *op. cit.*, p. xxviii, n. 1.

on what he regarded as the superior reading in such parallel passages.⁶

In 1892, B. Hauréau, discussing the contents of Paris. 16590 (15th century), asserted that the *De Ira* of that manuscript was Seneca's three-book work, not Martin's abridgment, but went on in a lengthy digression to discuss the latter.⁷ Much of the discussion centers on parallels and several footnotes propose changes in Martin's readings.⁸ Hauréau, in what appears to be the first mention of the hypothesis, discounted the likelihood that two sentences of the bishop's second chapter which have no Senecan counterpart represented the text or substance of a lacuna in Seneca; certain post-Senecan vocabulary was his chief ground for rejecting the connection.⁹ He termed the later work sheer plagiarism, inconsistent with Martin's unliterary style;¹⁰ pointing out that it was seldom copied during the Middle Ages, that no manuscript was known to exist, and that it was not mentioned by literary historians, he ascribed it to some anonymous 3rd or 4th century Christian whose work was attributed diversely under the influence of the composition which it chanced to follow in manuscripts.¹¹ Such a denial of authorship was necessary, he argued, to salvage a bishop's reputation, to say nothing of a somewhat dubious saint's.

The idea which Hauréau had treated so skeptically, that Martin's text could complement Seneca's, was championed in 1905 by E. Bickel, who pointed out that the subject-matter (a description of the effects of anger) fitted the context aptly and that other quotations from the first book of Seneca preceded and followed the lacuna-filling passage.¹² Bickel's chief preoccupation with the *De Ira*, however, was directed toward Martin's use of the accentual clausula, involving rhythms classed as (*cursus*) *velox*, *planus*, and *tardus*. Acknowledging Caspari's previous

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. xxix-xxx.

⁷ *Notices et Extraits de Quelques Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1892), pp. 184-92.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 185-6.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 189.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 190, 192.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 193.

¹² "Die Schrift des Martinus von Bracara *formula vitae honestae*," *Rh. Mus.*, LX (1905), N. F., pp. 541-2.

work in the tracing of parallels, he attempted to explain by Martin's fondness for rhythmic effect a considerable number of variations in the phrasing of matter clearly derived from Seneca.¹³

Bickel's position was adopted unreservedly by Manitius in 1911. In his notice regarding the *De Ira*, he called it a mere excerpt from Seneca and accepted the claim that it could fill the gap in the classical work.¹⁴ He also explicitly denied Hauréau's assertion that Paris. 16590 contained the text of Seneca, designating this as the only extant manuscript of Martin's *De Ira* with which he was acquainted.¹⁵ The first statements are echoed by A. Bourguery, who, treating of Senecan influence, referred in 1922 to Martin's essay as simply a transcription of Seneca's *De Ira*, and assented to the judgment that it could be drawn on to yield at least the substance of the lost Senecan passage.¹⁶

In 1937 C. W. Barlow added considerably to the information previously available respecting manuscripts and editions of Martin's *De Ira*. He noted the existence of a seventeenth century copy of this text in Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional C81, reproduced in Loewe and Hartel, *Bibliotheca Patrum Latinorum Hispaniensis* (Vienna, 1887), I, pp. 394-395,¹⁷ and of another which he himself had in photostatic form, Escorialensis M. III. 3, written in a Visigothic hand of the early tenth century. The readings of the latter, he observed, corresponded exactly to Florez's few indications of manuscript variations from Salazar's text.¹⁸ He expressly denied Manitius's assertion that the disputed Paris. 16590 contained Martin's essay, and on the basis of a personal examination upheld Hauréau's report that the treatise was Seneca's.¹⁹ He not only discussed the provenance of the text given by Gallandi and Migne, but mentioned also a Portuguese edition by Caetano de Amaral Brandao, *Vida e Opusculos*

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 535-40.

¹⁴ *Geschichte der Lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, IX², 1 (Leipzig, 1911), p. 112.

¹⁵ *Loc. cit.*, n. 1.

¹⁶ *Sénèque Prosateur* (Paris, 1922), pp. 166-7.

¹⁷ "A Sixth Century Epitome of Seneca, de Ira," *T. A. P. A.*, LXVIII (1937), p. 27, n. 1.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, text.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, n. 2.

de S. Martinho Bracarense (Lisbon, 1803), which (pp. 169 ff.) reproduced almost exactly the earlier version of Florez.²⁰

Barlow gave a reasonably detailed history of scholarly opinion concerning the lacuna previously referred to, and declared his adherence to Bickel's view.²¹ Furthermore, since he was hopeful of emending Seneca's text from Martin's, he treated rather fully the obstacles which Martin's technique raised against simple comparison. The types of variation he classified under four heads: amalgamation of phrases or sentences from different parts of Seneca's work which dealt with the same topic; use of the accentual clausula, noted earlier by Bickel; employment of later Latin vocabulary; revision of the source material ranging from change of mood to rephrasing merely suggestive of Seneca's general idea.²²

Regarding the Escorial manuscript Barlow stated that its readings, which often differed from printed editions of the *De Ira*, tended more nearly to parallel Seneca's language; he accounted for this by the alternative explanations that errors might have been made by Salazar and left uncorrected by Florez, or that the exemplar of the Escorialensis was corrected by reference to the readings of Seneca. He expressed the view that certainty would have to wait upon discovery of the manuscripts used by the early Spanish editors.²³ The remainder of his article dealt with employment of Martin's text as a criterion for appraising the merits of variants in Senecan manuscripts.²⁴

This lengthy résumé of the literature concerned with Martin's *De Ira* is not, I believe, irrelevant. The discussion of the manuscripts emphasizes their rarity and inaccessibility; it shows also on how unsubstantial a foundation the editions rest. A second point, of equal importance, is the unconcern of scholars with the work for its own sake: they are, like Caspari, interested in supporting the attribution of other works to Martin instead of Seneca and therefore incidentally desirous of proving parallelism in the *De Ira*; or primarily concerned, like Bickel, with a different essay, and secondarily with a special issue like the lacuna or rhythmic clausulae; or skeptical of Martin's authorship, like

²⁰ *Ibid.*, n. 3.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 32-4.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 36-42.

Hauréau; or intent, like Barlow, on using Martin as a touchstone for establishing the text of Seneca.

Barlow, who gives the fullest analysis of Martin's readings, seems to me to have overestimated their value when he argues that the churchman's original text, since it is five centuries earlier than the best edition of Seneca's *Dialogi*, should therefore be able to shed considerable light on the classical author's work.²⁵ For Martin's *De Ira* is not extant *sua manu*; we must rely on one manuscript, only a century earlier than the Senecan A, and upon the testimony of editions which are based on limited manuscript authority and obviously replete with controverted readings and inaccuracies.

Seneca's greater literary importance has, quite understandably, channeled most criticism into the attempt to use Martin's *De Ira* as a tool for supplementing, correcting, or confirming the Senecan original. Such one-sided interest, however, has resulted in neglect of corruptions which disfigure Martin's text and sometimes make it altogether unintelligible. This obscurity, acquiesced in by his editors and (generally speaking) his critics, is not characteristic even of Martin's original works, and cannot be accepted as plausible in a production which for the most part is as lucid as its Senecan model.

I propose, therefore, to consider possible emendations of Migne's edition, through which the text is most accessible, under four categories: defects of punctuation, misprints, or wrong conjectures introduced by the editor; readings which make no sense or produce a sense incompatible with the context; readings which are grammatically questionable; and readings which may derive from substitution of a word natural in ecclesiastical works for another word superficially similar. Finally, I wish to call attention to some differences between Seneca's language and Martin's which seem to have originated, not in errors of editor or copyist, but in variants in the Senecan text used by Martin himself.

Under the first of these heads, two passages merit scrutiny. In the one, Seneca writes:

Cogitemus, inquam, alios non facere iniuriam, sed reponere, alios pro nobis facere, alios coactos facere, alios ignorantis (II, 28, 5).

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.

Martin has:

Cogita non facere aliquos iniuriam, sed reponere aliquos pro nobis facere; alios adversus nos, sed coacte; alios et ignoranter (c. 5, p. 45 Migne).

It is obvious that a comma or semicolon after *reponere* would clarify the sense appreciably. Dependent as the modern reader is on punctuation, the omission really hampers understanding. Barlow mentions the passage and comments that the *pro nobis* in Martin is a guarantee of the same reading (for which a variant *pronos* is found) in Seneca.²⁶ This opinion is reinforced by Martin's explicit contrasting term, *adversus nos*, which does not appear in Seneca. Whether Martin used adverbs or adjectives to express the thought of *under compulsion* and *without knowledge of what they were doing* cannot be determined, nor does it make a whit of difference. It may, however, be noted that *ignoranter* is Migne's unmentioned conjecture for Salazar's *ignorantes*, and that Florez lists *coactos* as the reading of his manuscripts, though he adopted Salazar's *coacte*.

In the second case, we find in Seneca:

Magni animi est iniurias despicere. Ultionis contumeliosissimum genus est non esse visum dignum, ex quo peteretur ultio. Multi leves iniurias altius sibi demisere, dum vindicant (II, 32, 3).

Migne gives for the corresponding matter in Martin:

Magni animi est, despicere iniurias; altius in se demittere (Edit., demisere) dum vindicant (c. 4, p. 45).

I am convinced that the texts which Migne set aside preserve the right reading, so far as they go. Martin undoubtedly omitted Seneca's second sentence and inverted the position of *iniurias* and *despicere* to achieve the *cursus velox* in that clausula; subsequently a careless copyist, shifting his gaze to the second *iniurias* only three words beyond, continued with an omission of *Multi leves iniurias*. The unemended version lacks an expressed subject, and Migne's text gives the second clause a meaning inconsistent with the ethical import of the first. If the missing words are replaced, both difficulties disappear.

Under the next classification, more numerous instances may be

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

noted. At the beginning of Seneca's essay the following description of anger is found:

Aequae enim impotens sui est, decoris oblita, necessitudinum immemor, in quod coepit pertinax et intenta, rationi consiliisque praeclusa, vanis agitata causis, ad dispectum aequi verique inhabilis, ruinis simillima, quae super id quod oppressere franguntur (I, 1, 2).

Martin's preface contains the counterpart of this passage:

Ea enim sui est impotens, obliviscitur honestatem, affectuum immemor, rationi consiliisque praeclusa; dum variis agitata causis, ad considerationem iustitiae inhabilis et ruinae fit simul, superque in quod oppresserit, frangitur (p. 43).

Many minor changes, such as the accusative object of *obliviscitur*, use of a *dum* clause, the mood of *oppresserit*, and substitution for *necessitudinum* and *dispectum* may be explained by later Latin usage; the second and third of these variations are highly characteristic of Martin's style. But the clause following the semicolon makes no sense as it stands; for this Migne's misprint of *in* for *id* is partly responsible (all other editors have *id*). Then further, if *simul* is retained, both *iustitiae* and *ruinae* must depend upon *considerationem*, which is obviously absurd. Hauréau²⁷ and Barlow²⁸ propose that *simul* be altered to *similis*, thereby eliminating that obstacle to comprehension. The former goes on to recommend substitution of *quae super* for *superque*, but assigns no reason for thus altering the text. A good case, I think, can be made out of his more thoroughgoing revision. A relative clause (*quae super . . . frangitur*) describing the ruin (one which is broken upon what it crushed when it fell) is a perfectly natural simile, whereas a clause (*superque . . . frangitur*) co-ordinate to *ruinae fit similis* introduces a rather bold metaphor. It is not an extravagant assumption that *quae* (frequently written as pronounced—*que*) was transposed by a copyist's error, nor that the resulting juxtaposition of a word ending in *s* (*similis*) and another beginning with the same letter (*super*) then facilitated the dropping of one *s*, uncertainty concerning the correct reading, and eventual change of the perplexing *simili* to *simul*. Any irregularity in the height of the

²⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 185.

²⁸ *Loc. cit.*, p. 33.

letters *ili* would have contributed to the likelihood of such confusion. Hauréau may be right in urging restoration of *vanis* for Martin's *variis*,²⁹ but this change is not essential to intelligibility.

Again, this text of Seneca is badly garbled in Martin:

Quid enim refert, an alia mutis dissimilia habeat, si hoc, quod in omni peccato muta defendit, simile habet, caliginem mentis (III, 27, 2)?

For Migne gives:

Quid enim refert, an alia multa dissimilia, si hoc simile habet, quod omni peccata munda defendit (c. 8, p. 47)?

The *peccata* is Migne's own substitute for *peccato* of Salazar and Florez. Whether sense can be derived from the *quod* clause even after the change is questionable. In any event, whatever meaning might be deduced does not fit the demands of the situation, for the author has observed just before that one who kicks a mule or bites a dog is obviously mad, and that a man lacking sense is like a beast. Barlow states that the Escorial manuscript has the reading *multis* rather than *multa*; the latter he regards as an attempt to correct the *multis* into which *mutis* was corrupted in several extant Senecan manuscripts.³⁰ He makes no mention of the *peccato* (or *peccata*) *munda*, perhaps regarding the blunder as too obvious to touch upon. The fact remains, however, that a reader not having the parallel text before him would be puzzled indeed to interpret Martin's words. Speculation about the source of corruption may be inconclusive, but it appears likely that *hoc simile* would have promoted a careless and hasty alteration of *mutis*, read as *multis*, into *multa* so as to provide natural contrast between *this resemblance* and *many other points of difference*. No clue to the more extensive later blunder suggests itself, though once the *mutis* had been lost, the key to the succeeding *muta* would have been destroyed.

The last example of obscurity may be set against these words of Seneca:

Nec oculos tumentis temptabimus, vim rigentem movendo incitaturi (III, 39, 2).

²⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 185.

³⁰ *Loc. cit.*, p. 40.

Martin has instead :

Quod si tumentes oculos quis tentet inungere, recente vi magis incitat commovenda (c. 9, p. 48).

It is apparent at a glance that *recente* and *vi* probably lost the final *m*'s of their case endings, and that *commovendo* was then altered to *commovenda* in an effort to provide the missing object of *incitat*. Martin's insertion of *magis* after *recentem vim* would have assisted the mistake if these words were written in full, but it is more likely that the *m* was represented by an easily lost stroke over the *e* and *i*. Failure to understand the technical expression *vim rigentem* (stiffness, hardness) presumably led to the corruption of *rigentem* into *recentem*.

In another case of disagreement, Martin's reading is much simpler to interpret than Seneca's, but it is decidedly inconsistent with the situation which is being described. Seneca writes :

Si vehementior est, aut pudorem illi cui non resistat, incutiet aut metum (III, 39, 4).

Martin's text runs thus :

Quod si tu potentior es, aut pudorem illi cui vi resistis, aut metum incuties (c. 9, p. 48).

Both writers are discussing the proper means of soothing an angry friend who is intent on gaining revenge against an enemy, and recommend a pretence of agreement. By counterfeiting similar indignation one may delay, and perhaps ultimately prevent, hot-headed retaliation. The Senecan passage uses third person throughout; this syntax Martin has modified in the interest of clarity. Substitution of *potentior* for *vehementior* may be accounted for by the use of *infirmior* in Seneca's next sentence (*Si infirmior, sermones inferet vel gratos vel novos et cupiditate cognoscendi avocabit*). I take Seneca's sense to be that if the man dissuading his friend from hasty revenge has the more dominating disposition, he can without openly opposing the design introduce prudential considerations which will make the angry man reflect on what decent behavior or personal danger dictates; otherwise, he will be obliged to distract and rouse the curiosity of his vengefully disposed friend, drawing him tactfully away from his obsession. Haase's conjectural *cur* for the *cui* of

the manuscripts is attractive,³¹ for it simplifies the interpretation greatly; the sentence would then run: If he is the more vigorous personality, he will inspire either regard for decorum or fear in him [the angry friend] as a reason for non-resistance. Moreover, the use of subjunctive mood (*resistat*) would be much more normal after *cur*, and a copyist's error might appear highly plausible in view of the case association with *resistere*. But Martin's reading, though unsuited to the context, lends support to the manuscript *cui*, at least as being the form known to Martin. The seeming intrusion of *vi* into the later essay (clearly unsatisfactory unless negated, since the resistance takes the form of persuasion rather than force, if one can speak of resistance at all under such circumstances) admits of several possible explanations:

1. Extant Senecan manuscripts may be at fault in omitting *vi* and Martin's in dropping *non*.

2. Martin, indulging his taste for circumstantial statement, may have added *vi* on his own initiative, without himself omitting *non*, for the loss of which a scribe must be held accountable.

3. *Vi* perhaps appeared in neither Seneca nor Martin, but the copyist of Martin carelessly repeated from *cui* the two final letters, which then or later seemed to produce good sense and supplanted *non*.

4. Martin may have substituted for Seneca's *non* the qualified *vix*, of which the final letter is close enough in appearance to the *r* that follows to have been easily lost.³²

On grammatical grounds, my third category, two deviations from Seneca may be questioned. In the former, Martin's text is drawn from these lines of the model:

Sed (some MSS, si) utrimque certabit ira, concurritur (some MSS, certabitur, ira concurr[itur]): ille est melior qui prior pedem retulit (II, 34, 5).

The reading in Migne is:

Quod si utrumque certaverit, ira concurritur. Ille est fortior, qui prior retulit pedem (c. 7, p. 47).

³¹ L. Annaei Senecae Opera (Leipzig, 1874).

³² The last explanation, recently suggested to me by my colleague, Professor Blake, seems the easiest way of accounting for the loss of the negative.

Utrumque is not absolutely excluded as unintelligible for lack of a neuter reference, since immediately before, one finds in both Seneca and Martin: *Nisi paria non pugnant*. However, the clause beginning with *ille* is so closely linked as a conclusion to what has preceded (*certabit, concurritur* being regarded as asyndeton) that *utrimque*, which permits that relationship to be preserved, carries far greater conviction.

The other instance involves a very simple explanation of probable error. In Seneca we find:

nec in pecuniam aut lucrum tota civitas spem suam misit (III, 2, 2).

Martin gives instead:

nec in lucrum pecuniae spem suam tota simul civitas misit (c. 2, p. 44).

Lucrum pecuniae in the sense of *monetary gain* introduces a doubtful use of the dependent genitive. If Martin originally wrote *lucrum pecuniamve*, and the *m* was indicated by a stroke above *a*, the latter word might easily have been altered into *pecuniae*. Here again one can only remark the likelihood of corruption.

Under my fourth division, I wish merely to suggest that forms of *sanctus*, a word so common in ecclesiastical texts that it is abbreviated in countless ways, may reasonably be suspect in two passages where the Senecan parallels give a different reading. The first of these runs as follows:

Saepe autem satius fuit dissimulare, quam ulcisci. Potentiorum iniuriae hilari vultu, non patienter tantum ferendae sunt. Facient iterum, si se fecisse crediderint (II, 33, 1).

The corresponding text of Martin is:

Sanctius siquidem est dissimulare quam ulcisci. Potentiorum vero iniuriae non tantum patientia, sed etiam hilari vultu ferendae sunt. Facient iterum, si te passum, et se fecisse crediderint (c. 4, p. 45).

Holier is hardly the term one would expect to find applied to behavior which is prudent rather than magnanimous; *better* (in the sense of *more advisable*) seems far likelier. Since the *nc* of

sanct- forms is sometimes represented simply by a stroke over *a*,³³ change of *sati*us to *sancti*us is not hard to account for.

In the other instance, Seneca's *sapientissimos* appears in Martin as *sanctissimi*. The model gives:

Puerum aetas excuset, feminam sexus . . . illud nobis respondeamus sapientissimos quoque viros multa delinquere (III, 24, 3-4).

The parallel matter furnishes this text:

Puerum excuset aetas, quia nescit an peccet; mementote etiam quia sanctissimi quique viri multa delinquant (c. 8, p. 47).

There is, of course, no reason why Martin should not have written *sanctissimi*, emphasizing holiness rather than wisdom, though the tone of the treatise is secular like its source; but it may be pertinent to note that abbreviated forms using the letters *sapt* and *sact* are found in Visigothic manuscripts, so that the shift from one word to the other could have hinged on a single letter.

This pair of citations forms a suitable transition to my last topic, indications that Martin may have had before him some Senecan readings different from our version of the *De Ira*. The *quique* above strongly suggests that Martin read *quosque viros*, a presumption supported by the order of words in the parallel passages. The only reason for hesitation is that *etiam* may represent the Senecan *quoque*; on that assumption, *quique* would be Martin's own addition for emphasis.

A sure instance of a corrupt or misunderstood reading perpetuated by Martin may be observed in his perversion of what we find thus stated in Seneca:

Quaedam interpretatio eo perducit, ut videantur iniuriae; itaque alia differenda sunt, alia deridenda, alia donanda (III, 11, 1).

In Martin it appears as follows:

Dum enim perpetrantur, ad hoc producuntur, ut videantur iniuriae. Sed in ea perpetratione, alia defendenda sunt, alia donanda, alia deridenda (c. 4, p. 45).

³³ P. Ewald, *Exempla Scripturae Visigoticae XL Tabulis Expressa* (Heidelberg, 1883), No. XXV.

The phrase *in ea perpetratione* is a conclusive guarantee that the mistake goes back to the writer himself rather than a copyist. I do not believe that anything can be assumed to have altered *quaedam* to *quae dum*; Martin was fond of *dum* clauses and the deviation by which *dum perpetrantur* was equated to *perpetratio* was no doubt intentional. But he certainly must have read *perpetratio* rather than *interpretatio*. In this connection the *enim* seems to me significant. The first two letters of *interpretatio* might have been split off and taken for *en*, the abbreviation of *enim*. In that event, the meaningless *terpretatio* would almost surely have been changed to *perpetratio*, a term apparently appropriate in this context. From *Quaedam enim perpetratio eo perducit, ut videantur iniuriae* to *Dum enim perpetrantur, ad hoc producuntur, ut videantur iniuriae* is an easy transition, provided that the reviser was not acutely conscious of the lack of a definite subject to express the thought of the *quaedam* of his original.

This analysis of parallel passages is by no means to be construed as a plea for supplanting Martin's reading by Seneca's in every case of divergence. Otherwise, the proposals for changes would be many times more numerous and call for much completer revision. Considerable latitude has to be allowed for differences in phrasing, if not in thought. Nevertheless, it cannot be urged too strongly that Seneca provides a point of reference for critical analysis of Martin's meaning, and that certain variations ought at least to engender an attitude of cautious reserve about the soundness of the latter's text.

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MARTIN OF BRAGA'S *DE IRA*: NEW READINGS
FROM *ESC. M. III. 3*.

The editor of the *American Journal of Philology* has kindly given me the opportunity to publish new manuscript evidence which concerns the proposals for changes in the text of St. Martin of Braga's *De Ira*, as suggested by Charles Sanford Rayment in the preceding article. Rayment's emendations constitute a valuable complement to my earlier contribution to the *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LXVIII (1937), pp. 26-42. There the text of Martin was examined for the purpose of discovering possible emendations to the text of Seneca. Here Seneca's *De Ira* has been studied for its value in emending Martin's epitome. Such examination is the more important, because our knowledge of the later work depends on a very small number of manuscripts.

Further comment on Rayment's proposals will not be out of place, inasmuch as the photostats in my possession of *Escorialensis M. III. 3*, of the tenth century (herein referred to as *Esc.*) often give added support to his conjectures and in three or four cases actually have the readings which he prefers.

Rayment discussed twelve passages selected from Martin's text. Those which require further information are here presented in the order in which they occur in Martin.

Preface, *ea enim sui est impotens*. Another possible explanation of the corruption of *similis* to *simul* lies in the misinterpretation of an abbreviation. The *variis* in Martin's edition should be replaced by Seneca's *vanis*, which is found in *Esc.*

c. 4, *magni animi est despiciere iniurias*. Restoration of Seneca's *multi leves iniurias* to Martin's text was suggested by Rayment, who is borne out by the reading of *Esc.*: *despicere iniurias, nam multi leves iniurias altius*, etc. The three words necessary to the sense must have been omitted by Salazar or were not found in the manuscript which he used. Florez, if he knew *Esc.*, did not make a thorough check of the text in order to discover all the superior readings of his own manuscripts.

c. 5, *sed reponere aliquos*. In mentioning Migne's omission of the necessary punctuation between *reponere* and *aliquos* Rayment

failed to make it clear that both the earlier editors, Salazar and Florez, do have a colon in this place. *Esc.* has the adjectives, *quoactos* (Spanish spelling for *coactos*) and *ignorantes*, in place of Migne's adverbs, *coacte* and *ignoranter*.

c. 8, *sanctissimi quique viri*. The reading of *Esc.* is *sapientissimi* as in Seneca, and Florez also noted that reading from his manuscripts, although his text retained the *sanctissimi* of Salazar. Thus Rayment's discussion of this passage is well supported by the manuscripts. In the case of the *sanctius* in chapter four *Esc.* has an abbreviation for *sanctum*, which does not help. Common ecclesiastical usage of *sanctus* is undoubtedly responsible for these errors.

c. 9, *recente vi magis*. The reading of *Esc.* is essential to an understanding of the textual corruption at this point. There we find *recente magis vim*, which may represent the first step in a series of errors, with the loss of the final consonant of *recentem* before the next word *magis*. Then the text found in all the editors is reached by two more simple errors, transposition of *vim* and *magis*, and assimilation of *vim* to the ablative *recente*. As Rayment pointed out here and elsewhere, good sense can be restored to what Martin wrote only after reference to the original words of Seneca.

c. 9, *cui vi resistis*. The disturbing loss of a negative was corrected by Professor Blake, who suggested *vi* for *vi* in a brilliant anticipation of the *vi* which actually does occur in *Esc.* There is no doubt that Martin wrote *cui vi resistis*.

It might be pointed out that until the text of the existing manuscripts of Martin's *De Ira* has been adequately published, further speculation on the part of scholars may lead to needless and embarrassing errors. But since conditions resulting from the war may cause a good many years to elapse before the manuscripts in Spain become readily accessible, students of Martin will profit immediately from having their attention invited to passages which are obviously corrupt and to emendations which are undertaken to restore good grammar and good sense in the light of available evidence.

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ZUM RÖMISCHEN RITTERSTAND.

In meinem Buch über den römischen Ritterstand,¹ S. 101 f., habe ich unter anderm den staatsrechtlichen Begriff des *illustris eques Romanus* zu umschreiben gesucht und dabei (S. 101, Anm. 4) die Beispiele zusammengestellt, in denen Tacitus diesen Terminus gebraucht. Diese Sammlung ist nun noch durch einen weiteren Fall zu vervollständigen. Tacitus berichtet, *Ann.*, IV, 64, wo er vom Brand des mons Caelius im J. 27 n. Chr. spricht, dass Kaiser Tiberius den durch diesen Brand geschädigten Leuten durch reichliche Geldbeiträge Unterstützung gewährte. Dafür wurde ihm der Dank der Bevölkerung ausgesprochen. Es heisst da *actaeque ei grates apud senatum ab inlustribus famaue apud populum, quia sine ambitione aut proximorum precibus ignotos etiam et ultro accitos munificentia iuverat*. Danach wäre also nur die Rede vom Dank der *illustres* im Senat, und von Seiten des *populus*, der in der öffentlichen Meinung zum Ausdruck kam. Gegen eine solche Auffassung dieser Notiz erheben sich jedoch gewichtige Bedenken. Vor allem ist es befremdend, dass im Senat nur die *inlustres* dem Kaiser den Dank ausgesprochen haben sollen, abgesehen davon, dass der Begriff der *inlustres senatores* sonst unbekannt ist. Zweitens aber ist an die bekannte Dreigliederung der römischen Bürger zu erinnern, von der namentlich bei Tacitus, aber auch sonst nicht selten die Rede ist:² die Gliederung nämlich in Senat, Ritterstand, und Volk; vgl. besonders Tacitus, *Ann.*, IV, 74, *patres, eques, magna pars plebis* und *Hist.*, IV, 53, *senatus et eques et magna pars populi*. Die Vermutung liegt nahe, dass auch an unserer Stelle eine solche Dreiteilung gemeint ist: Senat, Ritterschaft, und Volk; nur dass hier neben dem Senat und dem *populus* bloss die vornehmsten Vertreter der Ritterschaft erwähnt sind. Man würde dann allerdings gern annehmen, dass in der Handschrift ein *et* ausgefallen ist, dass also Tacitus geschrieben hat *apud senatum et ab inlustribus . . . apud populum*.³ Der Dank ist

¹ Arthur Stein, *Der römische Ritterstand. Ein Beitrag zur Sozial- und Personengeschichte des römischen Reiches* (München, 1927). (*Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte*, X.)

² Ebd., S. 49, 2. 3; 50, 1; 61, 1.

³ Doch ist nach dem Sprachgebrauch des Tacitus dieses *et* nicht einmal

also von drei Gruppen der römischen Bürgerschaft dem Kaiser abgestattet worden: 1) im Senat durch ein sollemnes SC^{tum}, 2) durch die *illustres equites Romani* und 3) durch das Volk, d. h. die übrigen Bürger, die nicht den privilegierten Klassen angehörten.

Dass der römische Ritterstand nicht, wie früher oft geglaubt wurde, erblich war, habe ich in eingehender Beweisführung gezeigt⁴ und dabei insbesondere Gewicht darauf gelegt, dass sich Männer als Söhne von Rittern und noch ausserdem als römische Ritter bezeichnen.⁵ Desgleichen kommt es vor, dass Frauen sich Töchter eines höheren, mit entsprechendem Rangtitel ausgezeichneten Ritters nennen. Zu der S. 79, 1 verzeichneten Caecilia Logiana, *em. v. fil(ia)*, *C. I. L.*, III, 8713 (Salonae) können wir jetzt hinzufügen das Beispiel der Gargilia Publian(a), *e. m. v.* (= *egregiae memoriae viri* oder *eminentissimi viri*) *fil.*, *C. I. L.*, VIII, 29043 (Bordj-Gobet-el Gheffari in der Provinz Africa proconsularis). Die Feststellung also, der für die Beurteilung der sozialen Schichtung der höheren Stände in der römischen Kaiserzeit nicht unwesentlichen Tatsache, dass bloss der Senatorenstand, nicht aber die Ritterqualität erblich ist, scheint demnach wohl hinlänglich begründet.

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PRAGUE.

unbedingt erforderlich; man könnte auch durch blosse Interpunktion den Sinn andeuten, der hier dem Autor vorschwebt: *apud senatum, ab inlustribus . . . apud populum.*

⁴ *Röm. Ritterstand*, S. 74-81.

⁵ Beispiele dafür ebd., S. 77, 1.

REVIEWS.

JOHANNES CORNELIS OPSTELTEN. *Sophocles en het Grieksche Pessimisme*. Leiden, A. W. Sijthoff, 1945. Pp. xvi + 226.

The terms "optimist" and "pessimist" have been too loosely used of Greek authors, and notably of Sophocles. Perhaps there are adequate though paradoxical reasons for the confusion. The Greeks were an active and a masterful people, yet they were haunted at times by melancholy; on the other hand, Greek tragedy dealt with harrowing events, yet the result is seldom depressing. The personal career of Sophocles was crowned by success, yet his plays contain possibly more downright pessimism, so far as actual utterance is concerned, than do those of his rivals. Do such utterances express the personal convictions of the poet, or merely the tragic facts of life envisaged with unusual sharpness of insight? This is the problem that Dr. Opstelten has set himself to solve in his Leiden thesis.

Outright pessimism, he rightly holds, is un-Greek; and the Orphic type of pessimism is on the whole alien to Greek tragedy, and especially to Sophocles. Unlike the Orphics, or even Aeschylus, Sophocles is not concerned with the just punishment of sin so much as with the suffering that exceeds deserts or at least expectation. In the tragic conflict between human wills and divine power the odds always seem uneven; one might think of the contrast that Hölderlin draws, in his "Hyperions Schicksalslied" (not cited by Opstelten, though he quotes elsewhere from this poet), between the bliss of the celestial beings and the struggle of mortals. Since Greek ethics was predominantly grounded in eudaemonism and had in its most characteristic expression an intellectual cast, it was inevitable that life, and therefore legend, should present spectacles of what may be called a disappointed eudaemonism, a happiness *manqué*. This could easily develop into real pessimism. But the sturdy Aeschylus, whose maturity knew Marathon and the heady wine of Athenian leadership in Greece, attained to a theodicy: the gods' ways are righteous altogether, if seen to their ultimate conclusion, and sin finds fit punishment. For Sophocles, however, a generation later, the sense of a disparity between divine power and human wills was enhanced by a sense of human responsibility for one's deeds that increased with the growth of democracy. Perceiving that suffering nevertheless comes to innocent and to guilty alike, he did not try to explain it away. He sought rather, especially in the pre-war *Ajax* and *Antigone*, to portray the heroic attitude toward suffering. His problems are not so much those of guilt and innocence as of illusion and truth. For Aeschylus the sequence of *hybris* and *nemesis* has been central; for Sophocles it is peripheral, and the central place is occupied by the personal hero, whose inner ordeal of decision, of suffering, and usually of ultimate vindication, provides a new kind of tragedy. The Sophoclean conception of suffering, Opstelten submits, therefore comes from a more pessimistic view of the world than that of Aeschylus.

This general position, which is not exactly novel, he supports or qualifies by several subsidiary arguments. A survey of the use by Sophocles of received myths and his inconsiderable changes in them betrays no significant tendency to pessimism. The collections of actual pessimistic utterances in the plays, classified by themes (pp. 108 f.) and by plays (p. 110), show a decline and then an increase, which the author is disposed to explain not so much by the influence of Euripides, who is temperamentally more pessimistic than Sophocles, as by the influence of the war and of old age. The latter suggestion is to me unconvincing; the "last plays" of Sophocles and of Shakspeare, like the "last quartets" of Beethoven, notoriously reveal a new mellowness. To the difficult question, which utterances are most expressive of the poet himself, he finds the usual test (the expression of sentiments not dramatically necessary) less applicable to Sophocles than to Euripides. Such utterances he notes to some extent in Sophoclean choruses, and cites the first stasimon of the *Antigone*. Here I think he exaggerates; for the actual pessimism here is to be found only in the ominous note at the end, which is warranted by the surmise of the chorus on the previous scene; possibly a better case would be the second stasimon. Other classifications show (pp. 131 f.) the distribution of pessimistic sentiments of various kinds (sorrow, bitterness, resignation) among the portions and the characters of the plays; the prevalent tone of these passages is described as bitterness, except in the *Oedipus Tyrannus* and the *Electra*; it is to be found more on the lips of the protagonist than on those of the chorus, and still more than among secondary or minor characters. To Sophocles himself, for reasons not fully developed, is attributed an attitude of resignation. I am not convinced that the concluding lines of the *Trachiniae* imply mere resignation (so p. 135, but not p. 131). On the other hand, if the choral song of *O. C.* 1211-38 is to be labelled "sorrowful and bitter" (I find it indeed sorrowful, and not wholly dramatically appropriate at this point), it should be observed that the $\mu\eta\ \phi\upsilon\upsilon\alpha\iota$ of 1225 is mere commonplace, and indicates only a passing mood of the chorus, who presently recover hope (1565-7), and who in the concluding lines of the play accept the story of Theseus in a spirit of something more than resignation (1777-9).

A well-informed and judicious chapter (pp. 136-70) compares the expressions of pessimism to be found in Sophocles with those in Greek literature before him. I know of no other survey, of such brief compass, in any language, that so compactly assembles the repertory of themes and sets off their respective tones and the circumstances that called them forth. It reminds me of W. Nestle's masterly but less well documented little essay, "Der Pessimismus und seine Überwindung bei den Griechen" (*Neue Jahrbücher*, XLVII [1921], pp. 81-97). Again it is the stress of Sophocles on man's delusions that emerges, as well as the isolation of his tragic heroes, resulting sometimes even in suicide. But none of his themes is really novel; conversely, none of the earlier forms of pessimism fails to find expression in Sophocles (the Orphic always excepted). The brief Appendix, pp. 199-205, on the $\phi\theta\acute{o}\nu\omicron\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\omega\nu$ in Greek literature generally, is adequate, but does not rival Tournier's full study, which Opstelten seems not to know; the idea, of course, is not conspicuous

in Sophocles. The concluding chapter (pp. 171-98) recapitulates and enforces the previous points. I must confess that the final view of the personality of Sophocles here taken rather eludes me: the man was passionate but self-controlled (Plato, *Rep.* 329B-D), and he was easy-going (Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 82). If he was in his plays a pessimist, therefore, it was not a matter of temperament but of observation and insight; so far, I agree. But does this deserve to be called pessimism at all, especially in view of his emphasis on the heroic attitude, on free will, and on the eternal laws, and his frequent vindication of the sufferers? Yet to call Sophocles for these reasons an optimist would be just as extreme. It is perhaps better, with Opstelten, to avoid any neat formula, and to call attention to the artistic form of the tragedies which solve the problem, if indeed one may speak of a solution, in concrete form: in them, just as intellectual difficulties are absorbed earlier in the feeling aroused by the action, so at the end they cease to disturb us since now we have a sense of "all passion spent."

That so solid and careful a thesis (incidentally, one so well printed) should come from Holland in 1945 is a heartening sign of the high courage and scholarly ideals of a gallant people. I may add that the brief English summary (pp. 223-6) will be welcomed by those readers who, like the present reviewer, read Dutch only with the help of a dictionary.

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Traditio: Studies in Ancient and Medieval History, Thought and Religion, Vol. I. Edited by Johannes Quasten and Stephan Kuttner. New York, Cosmopolitan Science and Art Service Co., Inc., 1943. Pp. vii + 418. \$6.50.

This new periodical is a further indication of the increasing strength in America of studies in the Middle Ages and the continuity therein of classical tradition. The first volume, dedicated to that great scholar and friend of scholars, Cardinal Mercati, is excellent both in content and in production. An adequate review would require a team such as made the volume.

CLASSICAL. J. C. Plumpe, "*Vivum saxum, vivi lapides*. The Concept of 'Living Stone' in Classical and Christian Antiquity" (pp. 1-14) is a suggestive study of two concepts, the *vivum saxum* of *Aen.*, I, 167 and the living stone and living stones of I Pet. 2, 4 f. The first is rock with the Urkraft of nature. It is primarily a poetic usage, and involves, I think, an element of idyllic primitivism. It is not primarily related to popular ideas of individual rocks as living or as having lived and having been transformed (for which cf. C. S. Burne, *Handbook of Folklore*, new ed., pp. 23 ff.), nor to the baetyls of Syria, nor to stones like *aetites* supposed to have life or to aid it. Nor again is it to be connected with the use of *nasci* with reference to any mineral, which usually means no more than that

the mineral is there and that we did not make it.¹ *Vivum* may well, as Plumpe urges, imply an idea that the stone has an actual life; he emphasizes *pumice vivo* (and pumice does look like a sponge), and *vivi fontes*. So also iron is a "bad plant" (Callimachus, *Coma Berenices*, frag. 35 e), and to go beyond the range of poetic metaphor, the iron of Elba was supposed to replenish itself.² *Vivum* implies something like tissue, as in the phrase *ad vivum resecare*, and in Pliny's *ad vivas usque partes* (N. H., XXVIII, 156, of an injury from the bite of a mad dog; cf. Schol. in Pers., V, 15).

Plumpe rightly stresses the difference of the second concept as seen in I Pet. and in later elaborations. We pass from nature to architecture; Christ as the "living stone" and the Christians as "living stones" constitute the new Temple. Plumpe's main concern is with patristic developments, on which he has much of interest; but readers might profit from a reference to the discussion by J. Jeremias in G. Kittel, *Theol. Wörterb. z. N. T.*, IV, pp. 275 ff., of the earlier background of the phrase.³ Jews had no doubt earlier applied to the Messiah the figure of the stone in Is. 28, 16 (unlike some other texts so used by Christians). Further, quite apart from the emotional significance of the Holy City and the Holy Temple, building was a type of action which if done aright (Ps. 127, 1) produced abiding results, and it supplied a metaphor for teaching. Greeks and Romans often use "foundation" figuratively, but "edification" seldom; is there any analogy to the use of *οἰκοδομεῖ* in I Cor. 8, 1; 14, 4 as a natural word and not as a bold individual application?⁴ Christians accepted and elaborated this; they could also adapt the first type of language as Plumpe shows from the Christianization of a *nymphaeum* in Tunisia.

Under this heading we may note also the valuable review by K. von Fritz of Alexander Turyn, *The Manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Aeschylus* (pp. 411 f.; cf. now also D. S. Robertson, *C. R.*, LVII [1943], pp. 109 ff.).

EARLY CHRISTIAN. Th.-André Audet, "Orientations théologiques chez Saint Irenée. Le contexte mental d'une ΓΝΩΞΙΣ ΑΛΗΘΗΣ" (pp. 15-54) is a remarkable study of the psychology of Irenaeus as a born Christian, in contrast to the Apologists, who were predominantly converts and had "une problématique plus ou moins cosmologique" (p. 22, n. 26. Yet we must not forget the great debt of Irenaeus to Justin; cf. J. A. Robinson, *St. Irenaeus, The Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching*, pp. 6 ff.). In general Irenaeus grew up in his religion and found it natural; for him Gnostic views were aberrations repugnant to his sense of heritage and to his opti-

¹ So *redivivus* of reused stone seems to involve no conscious metaphor. Prose uses *de vivo resecare*, *detrahere* with reference to capital.

² Philipp in *R.-E.*, IX, col. 1090. In Aeschylus, *Pers.* 238 ἀργυροῦ πηγὴ occurs, though qualified by *τις*, "of silver, as one might say, a spring" (C. E. S. Headlam). Cf. ἀτροχάωνος of iron in *Il.*, XXIII, 826 with A. W. Persson's comments, *Bull. Soc. Roy. Lund*, 1933/4, p. 116 (he thinks of meteoric iron as the first form to be familiar).

³ Cf. also H. Windisch on I Pet. 2, 4.

⁴ Cf. Strack-Billerbeck, *Komm. z. N. T.*, I, p. 876; III, p. 379; Lietzmann on I Cor. 3, 10; also Prov. 9.

mism as to the harmony of the universe (p. 29; cf. *Corp. Herm.*, XVIII, 14 as well as Marcus Aurelius, VII, 9) and as to the possibilities of man under grace; repugnant again to his commonsense feeling that some questions did not admit of being answered (cf. above all *Adv. Haer.*, II, 41, [I, pp. 349 ff., ed. Harvey]). His theology was, says Audet, primarily negative; he wished to make the tradition watertight and not to engage in additional construction.

To come to details. Audet has useful remarks on the distinction of ἀγέννητος and ἀγέννητος (p. 31, n. 83; I suspect that Christians hardened and specialized linguistic usage; cf. the coinage of ὁμοούσιος). On p. 32, n. 85 he rightly calls for a study of the O. T. quotations in Irenaeus, and notes his use of Job. Might not other Fathers repay similar study—I mean for the attitudes implied in their mode of quotation and not simply for textual variants? For a Jew all three parts of the O. T. were Writing and were inspired, and Rabbinic literature quotes books outside the Pentateuch on a scale altogether different from that of Philo (W. L. Knox, *J. Theol. Stud.*, XLI [1940], pp. 30 ff. and *Some Hellenistic Elements in Primitive Christianity*, pp. 51 ff.).⁵ Nevertheless Moses overshadowed all other prophets (Numb. 12, 6 ff.; Philo, *Cherubim*, 49), and all truth shown to them, as also all truth stated in the traditions which made up Halakha and Haggada, had been shown to him. Prominent as Job was in legend and discussion (L. Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, VII, pp. 258 ff.; G. F. Moore, *Judaism*, II, pp. 99 f.), the book which bears his name never acquired more than a very small place in the Synagogue lectionary (I. Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst*, 3rd ed., p. 186).

From the beginning Christians were in a situation which made for a greater emphasis on the prophets and a smaller or qualified emphasis on the Pentateuch; and, among the Writings, the Psalms (which to be sure were the hymnbook of the Synagogue) also served the argument from prophecy, and Proverbs, often quoted as "Wisdom" (R. H. Connolly, *Didascalia*, p. 16), contributed to Christology and yet more to edification, as even beyond their range Wisdom did. Was the result a more uniform valuation of the O. T. as a whole? The Septuagint, with the readings and the range of contents current among Christians, was "our Scriptures," as contrasted with the Jewish Scriptures (Origen, *Ep. ad Africanum*, 5 [*Patr. Gr.*, XI, col. 60]; cf. R. H. Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the O. T.*, pp. 108, 121). I can do no more than raise this question,⁶ and reiterate my sense of gratitude to Audet. (Note, incidentally, his remarks [p. 37, n. 115] on the citations by Irenaeus of Luke 10, 22 and Matthew 11, 27.)

⁵ Cf. the wide range of interest exhibited in the synagogue paintings at Dura, and cf. C. H. Kraeling, *Excavations at Dura-Europos*, Report VI, pp. 375, 377.

⁶ L. Jalabert's list of O. T. quotations in Greek inscriptions in Syria (Cabrol-Leclercq, *Dict. arch. chrét. liturg.*, III, pp. 1731 ff.) shows far more quotations from the Psalms than from the N. T., and very few from the rest of the O. T. To determine the significance of this we should need an examination of the character and purpose of these inscriptions.

LITURGIOLOGY. Johannes Quasten, "Oriental Influence in the Gallican Liturgy" (pp. 55-78) is a thorough, able, and convincing study of [Germanus], *Expositio brevis liturgiae Gallicanae*, and shows in detail the introduction from Byzantium and Egypt of elements in the progressive elaboration of ritual. This introduction was early fostered by pilgrim visits to Palestine, and Quasten's quotation from the Council of Vaison (p. 62) is explicit evidence for the prestige of the Greek East. So we read in *Expositio* (Quasten, p. 57) *avus* (i. e. ἄγιος ὁ θεός, ἄγιος ἰσχυρός) *vero ante prophetiam pro hoc cantatur in graeca lingua, quia praedicatio novi testamenti in mundo per graecam linguam processit, excepto Matthaeo apostolo, qui primus in Iudaea evangelium Christi hebraicis litteris edidit*, which may remind us of Servius, in *Georg.*, II, 394: *hymni vero Matris deum ubique propriam, id est Graecam, linguam requirunt*. (Cf. H. Leclercq in Cabrol-Leclercq, *Dict. arch. chrét. liturg.*, VI, p. 1581, on the use of Gloria and Creed in Greek and of Epistle and Gospel in Greek and Latin at Christmas and Easter.)

Quasten shows a striking instance of Egyptian influence, the use in [Germanus] of the vision of a boy slain by an angel at the moment of the breaking of the bread.⁷ In general, does not the florid style of early Gallican and Spanish servicebooks, as contrasted by E. C. Bishop in his *Genius of the Roman Rite* (reprinted in *Liturgica Historica*) with the sobriety of the Roman liturgy, reflect Greek rhetoric as it flourished in the later fourth century? The so-called Clementine Liturgy in *Constit. Apostol.* shows this in its full flowering.

Anselm Strittmatter, "*Missa Grecorum, Missa Sancti Iohannis Crisostomi*. The Oldest Latin Version known of the Byzantine Liturgies of St. Basil and St. John Chrysostom" (pp. 79-137) is a fine edition of a translation made under Norman rule in South Italy. The Greek is printed opposite the Latin, and the commentary is all that could be desired.

Martin J. Higgins, "Observance of the Purification in the East in the Seventh Century" (pp. 409 f.) produces evidence for its having been February 14 in 602.

MEDIEVAL. Cyril Toumanoff, "Medieval Georgian Historical Literature (VIIth-XVth Centuries)," on pp. 139-182, is a richly documented treatment of a literature the extent of which few of us would suspect.⁸ I cannot judge this, or Artur Landgraf's "Studien zur Theologie des zwölften Jahrhunderts" (pp. 183-222; on nominalism in the second half of the 12th century and on the *Sententiae* of Robertus Pullus), or Philotheus Böhrer's "The Notitia Intuitiva of Non-existents according to William Ockham" (pp. 223-75; in-

⁷ For his remarks, p. 70, on the anticipatory homage paid to unconsecrated bread and wine, cf. Nock, *J. Theol. Stud.*, XXX (1929), p. 383.

⁸ I doubt the suggestion (p. 167, n. 14) that the Georgian traditions as to human origins are independent of the O. T. There could well have been a native story; cf. Herodotus, IV, 5 for one of the Scythians (with the comments of A. Christensen, *Iranier*, p. 243) but what Toumanoff adduces has at least been filled out from the Bible.

For this region in Roman times, reference may now be made to M. N. Tod, *J. R. S.*, XXXIII (1943), pp. 82 ff.

cludes a revised text of 30 pages of Ockham), or Stephan Kuttner's "Bernardus Compostellanus Antiquus, A Study in the Glossators of the Canon Law" (pp. 277-340). They are all clearly solid studies which deserve the attention of specialists. So does Rudolph Arbesmann's "Jordanus of Saxony's Vita Sancti Augustini, the Source for John Capgrave's Life of St. Augustine" (pp. 341-54), supplemented by D. B. Zema's review of Arbesmann and Humpfer's *Jordani de Saxonia, Ordinis Eremitarum S. Augustini, Liber Vitas-fratrum* (pp. 412-17), an interesting chapter of hagiography.

Medievalists will note also S. E. Thorne's review of C. R. Cheney's *English Synodalia of the Thirteenth Century* (pp. 417 f.). They and a wider public also should find interest in Gaines Post, "Plena Potestas and Consent in Medieval Assemblies. A Study in Romano-Canonical Procedure and the Rise of Representation, 1150-1325" (pp. 355-408). This bears on the whole question of the historic basis of modern representative government (as distinct from tentative anticipations in Hellenistic leagues).⁹ Post examines the relations between the powers delegated to men sent to a Parliament and those delegated to a procurator appearing for someone else in a court of law, whether civil or canon. He shows that this is certainly a matter of relationship and not of analogy (cf. in particular pp. 376 f.). He considers also the functions of ambassadors; the phrase Minister Plenipotentiary survives, if not the actuality (and it can seldom in history have involved anything like the situation of Aristophanes, *Aves* 1595; ratification has generally been needed).

This is a fine volume; it remains only to express warm gratitude and hearty good wishes to editors and publishers.

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Michigan Papyri, Vol. VI. Papyri and Ostraca from Karanis, edited by HERBERT CHAYYIM YOUTIE and ORSAMUS MERRILL PEARL. Ann Arbor, Univ. of Michigan Press, 1944. Pp. xxi + 252; 7 plates. \$4.00. (*Univ. of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series*, Vol. XLVII.)

In this volume and *P. Mich.* V, published earlier in the same year, we have gratifying evidence of the continued activity of the Michigan papyrological atelier during the war years.

The present volume consists of two parts. The first, *P. Mich.* VI, contains sixty-five papyri (Nos. 364-428) of the I-IV centuries, varied in content, but united by the fact that all were found in the University of Michigan's excavation of Kôm Aushîm, The Greco-Roman Karanis.

Among the inhabitants of Karanis in the latter half of the second century was one C. Julius Niger, an honorably discharged cavalry veteran, holder of Roman citizenship and Antinoite privileges. From the business papers of Niger and his family the Michigan collection

* Cf. J. A. O. Larsen, *Class. Phil.*, XL (1945), pp. 65 ff.

possesses twenty-three pieces, dating from 154 to 214 A. D. Four of these have been published elsewhere; three remain unedited; the rest appear in the present volume. The activities which they reflect might be those of any contemporary family of comparable affluence and social standing. We see Niger buying a house (No. 428) or registering a piece of land which he had purchased at a tax sale (364); in a return which their agent Sarapion filed for the census of 187/8 A. D., we note that the family owned, in whole or in part, nine parcels of real estate in Karanis (370); elsewhere, we find members of the family paying taxes (384-7, 395-8), or petitioning for redress against trespassers or assaulters (422-5) or for relief from liturgy (426). This little family archive is perhaps the highlight of the volume, and the editors have provided the reader with a convenient summary (pp. 118-19).

Among other *notabilia*:

No. 372 (179/80 or 211/12 A. D.) contains, I believe, the latest known reference to an *οἰσία Μακρηνατιανή* (ii, 15). The estate of Germanicus at Patsontis (ii, 23) is apparently new; the ownership sequence given for this estate on p. 31 should be reversed: Germanicus came *before* Anthos (for omission of *πρότερον* in designation of previous possessor cf. *P. Ryl.* 134, 7-9). The appearance (iii, 1) of one Chresimos as a former owner of an estate of Pallas is also new, and, incidentally, in all probability supplies the restoration for *P. Ryl.* 207, 5 and 17.

No. 383. A one-half exemption from the bath tax appears to be new; but since the document is concerned with only a single taxpayer, we cannot yet discern how extensively or on what ground the privilege was granted.

No. 390 (215 A. D.). *Adaeratio* of the *ἀννόνα δέξους* in the early third century—hitherto an easy assumption on the analogy of the *ἀννόνα οἶνον*—is now attested by this receipt, written, incidentally, on the back of a piece of *Iliad* B.

Nos. 418 and 420 are good examples of the use of "prepared forms"—i. e., a first hand prepared the bodies of these receipts in advance, leaving blank spaces in which a second hand later filled in the appropriate names.

Nos. 422-424. These petitions about trespass and theft are notable for their "human interest." The petitioner complains that the trespassers are emboldened by his poor eyesight and have apparently resorted to black magic to further their ends (cf. 423-4, note on lines 12-13).

The second part of the volume constitutes *O. Mich.* II, continuing the publication of the Michigan ostraca from Karanis, begun by Amundsen in 1935. The texts (Nos. 700-971) are published without translation or commentary, since they mostly parallel the material of *O. Mich.* I, on which Amundsen has a commentary in preparation.

Among papyrologists the names of Youtie and Pearl have become warrants of precision in reading, thoroughness and sobriety in commentary. The present volume is no exception. At times, in fact, the editors have expanded an introduction (e. g. 366, 370) or even a footnote (e. g. 397, note on lines 6-8) into summaries, complete with bibliography and citations, of the current state of our information on

the questions involved. These summaries would be valuable at any time; they are especially so now when papyrologists here and abroad are busy picking up loose ends and resuming studies interrupted by the war. In short, this latest volume takes a proud place in the already impressive and steadily growing series of *Michigan Papyri*.

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EIRIK VANDVIK. *The Prometheus of Hesiod and Aeschylus*. Oslo, Jacob Dybwald, 1943. Pp. 83. (*Skifter utgitt av Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo*, II: Hist.-Filos. Klasse, 1942, No. 2.)

The author's purpose in this wartime monograph from Norway is clearly stated and at all times consistently pursued. It is to work out an interpretation of the *Prometheus Vincetus* which will bring that play into line with Aeschylean tragedy as we otherwise know it; in particular, to bring the concept of Zeus into harmony with that which we find in the *Agamemnon* and elsewhere. If the poets and many scholars are right, and Prometheus is necessarily a great and good character unjustly punished by a vindictive tyrant, then, Vandvik contends, we are forced back to Schmid's conclusion (W. Schmid, *Untersuchungen zum Gefesselten Prometheus*, *Tübinger Beiträge*, IX [Stuttgart, 1929]) that Aeschylus did not write the play. Vandvik believes, however, that Zeus can be shown to be "the same as in the other dramas, the omniscient ruler whose kindness is mingled with stern justice" (p. 26). This is because we have accepted Prometheus' own account of the matter. Prometheus *thinks* he was the benefactor alike of Zeus and mankind; actually, he was neither. The wise plans of Zeus to alter the state of men so that they should live a life of simple and happy labor were interfered with by the meddling Titan, though ultimately realized. Prometheus is punished so that he, like man, may learn through suffering and become wise; he wins this wisdom in the *Prometheus Solutus* (held here to be the final play of the trilogy) and is reconciled with Zeus and set free. Thus the Titan is a true Aristotelian hero, noble and sincere, but deluded; he set man free from no harm, since Zeus intended none; his boasted benefits were useless accomplishments and luxuries which have bred war, immorality, and unhappiness.

In this way, Vandvik believes, we can read not only the *Prometheus Vincetus*, but also the Hesiodic accounts, where the same moral is intended. The case is ably argued and supported. It is, as Vandvik claims (p. 77), the view of Dio Chrysostom (*Or.* 6, 25). And it is certainly true that, in spite of their admiration for first founders and first inventors, the Greeks felt generally apprehensive concerning material progress, technical proficiency, and complication; and in consequence tended to envy and admire the life of peoples more primitive than themselves. Vandvik has cited much from this tradition of feeling, which runs from Homer through Latin literature, and might, if he had chosen, have found still more concerning the noble savage in Herodotus and Euripides. Behind this feeling lurks the

sense of the enormous problems raised by purely technical progress when it outstrips too far the progress of morality and statecraft; problems which the Greeks knew well, and which face us now.

That there is a case, then, for questioning certain of the gifts of Prometheus to mankind, is clear; his intellectual's arrogance is unquestioned; and it is true that Hesiod describes him as tricky rather than as magnificently wise. He has rescued mortals, if not from imminent destruction, at least from a life of blind torpor underground like that of Plato's men in the cave. But it is likely also that he has gone too far. Still, this is nowhere near enough for Vandvik's thesis, which breaks down in the attempt to prove not only the ultimate justification but the constant all-wise benevolence of Zeus.

First, Hesiod. His contempt for the greedy kings who do not know that the half is better than the whole (*Op.* 40-1) might lead us to expect a Prometheus story of which the moral is praise of simplicity. Indeed, such a moral might be extracted from Hesiod, but it does not involve the good intentions of Zeus. If Prometheus is blamed, it is because he has exposed men to the vindictiveness of an angry god. *πλείη μὲν γὰρ γαῖα κακῶν, πλείη δὲ θάλασσα* (*Op.* 101); nor does Hesiod intimate that these evils are merely educational and that everything is for the best. But the vindication of Zeus' disinterested justice in the *Prometheus Vincitus* is still more difficult. The thesis forces certain tortured interpretations of dramatic action and character. Thus Hermes' visit becomes a well-intentioned clinical errand, and his object is to see how the patient is getting along under treatment. The chorus of Oceanides, who express sympathy for Prometheus and scorn for Zeus, must then, Vandvik argues, be themselves worthless, and he characterizes them as silly, inconstant, indecently inquisitive (what Greek chorus is not?) and meanly sensual. This opinion causes some embarrassment when with unexpected heroism they resolve to stand by Prometheus at the end of the play, so that Vandvik must decide that they cannot do so after all, condemn lines 1063-1079 as an interpolation by an "enemy of Zeus," and make the girls skedaddle in haste as soon as Hermes suggests it (pp. 67-8). Nor is Io easy. "What," we are asked, "is after all Io's suffering?" (p. 59). We must remind ourselves that she is, while on the stage, has been for some time, and will be for years, in such acute physical agony that it knocks her out of her senses.

Finally, there is the embarrassment of such terms as *νέος τύραννος* and the like, used of Zeus by members of "his side," not merely by Prometheus. *ἅπας δὲ τραχὺς ὅστις ἂν νέον κρατῇ*, says Hephaestus himself (35). Vandvik would explain (p. 41): "Every new (and unaccustomed) regime appears to be severe." This is no explanation but an illicit expansion, since "appears to be" is not in the text, and Hephaestus' words are perfectly clear. Vandvik acknowledges, but does not explain, the insistence on *τύραννος*, *τυραννίς*. Yet these terms obviously are to be connected with Prometheus' allusion to *σάσις* (202) among the gods. The Titanomachy is conceived along the lines of party-politics in the city-state, and from such an awe-inspiring but undignified rough and tumble the strongest contender has emerged, the *τύραννος*, Zeus. He is a tyrant because he is

established by force, and is irresponsible (οὐδ' ὑπεύθυνος, according to Oceanus, 326; so Herodotus, III, 80, 3). His henchmen must be, and are, paid off (231-3). It is exactly in this respect that Prometheus has done wrong, in arrogating to himself the right of giving out rewards (τιμὰς ὅπασας πέρα δίκης, 30; γέρας, 38; ἐφημέροις πορόντα τιμὰς, 945-6); and it is indeed part of Zeus' justification that in such instances the leader may have to put down helpers who have presumed too much on the value of their services in the struggle for power. Thus it is the fate of the tyrant, however well meaning, to be ungrateful: ἔνεστι γάρ πως τοῦτο τῇ τυραννίδι/ νόσημα, τοῖς φίλοις μὴ πεποιθέναι (226-7). And particularly is this true of the tyrant who is new in power and uncertain of himself.

The above passages are ignored by Vandvik, who is content to state that "Prometheus misconceives the representatives of Zeus whenever they speak of the νέος τύραννος" (p. 40); hardly an argument. Yet Vandvik's thesis is in places very well argued. If it fails, it fails because of basic assumptions which are false. "The interpreter has the choice between an imperfect deity and an imperfect Titan" (p. 31). The Titan is also a deity; and in the characteristic conflict of tragedy—Agamemnon against Clytemnestra, Eteocles against Polyneices, Antigone against Creon—neither antagonist is perfect, though one is right and the other is wrong. Aeschylus is saved from impiety by the fact that Zeus, while accused, does not have to answer, by the accepted violence of the Olympians at the time of the struggle with the Titans, and by the fact that the audience, well grounded in Homer and Hesiod, knew worse stories about Zeus than this. The second false assumption is that, because Aeschylus wrote *Agam.* 160-83, he never thought about Zeus without thinking of πάθει μάθος, of which there is no word in the *Prometheus Vincitus* except perhaps as applied against Zeus himself (981-2).

What then is the contribution made in this essay to a vexed and difficult problem? In spite of its one-sidedness, considerable. Vandvik began with the thesis that the extreme romantic view of Prometheus as a blameless martyr unjustly punished was untenable; he has damaged that romantic view considerably and has well made out at least part of the case for ἀμαρτία on the part of Prometheus. We must not take at its face value everything that the suffering Titan tells us; we must believe that by the end of the trilogy the rightness of Zeus was vindicated. It is mainly in attempting to establish the consistent and perfect benevolence of Zeus that he is forced to belittle, distort, ignore evidence, and even mutilate the text; since he is trying to reconstruct a consistent theology which Aeschylus may never have pretended to achieve. The chorus of the *Agamemnon* cry out that they have seen bloody murder done by the will of Zeus, no other (*Agam.* 1485-8), nor does the happy ending of the *Oresteia* bring Agamemnon back to life. Between the interpretation of an author and the solution of all problems raised in the work of that author, there is a distinction which it is difficult but necessary to maintain.

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KARL KERÉNYI. Prometheus. Das Griechische Mythologem von der menschlichen Existenz. Zurich, Rhein-Verlag, 1946. Pp. 82. 6 fr. (*Albae Vigiliae*, N. F. Heft IV.)

This essay deals not with the dramatic and ethical problems which arise out of the legend of Prometheus, but with the mythological nature of Prometheus himself, the association of his attributes with those of Hephaestus and Hermes, his connections with Hera, with the Cabiri, and especially his part in the formation of the human race. Professor Kerényi is therefore concerned with the cosmological situation in Hesiod and Aeschylus. He concludes that the world of the *Prometheus Vincitus* is not the world in which we live (as is the heroic age) but one in the process of development in which it is still possible for Zeus to be overthrown and for gods and men to become something different from what gods and men now are. Prometheus embodies the destiny of the human race as human; with Epimetheus he forms the "Ur-Mann," though himself immortal. This may not be entirely new, but it is surely good. Certain other conclusions have been anticipated (as that the Cabiri are "pre-people," that the fall of Hephaestus represents the bringing of fire), but few references are given and these are often vague (for example, *I. G.*, XII, 8, 74 is cited simply as "die Inschrift von Imbros"). We do not, however, have to worry about Professor Kerényi's learning, and if he is repeating without acknowledgment some view already put forward, we can be perfectly sure that he is conscious of the facts and of the literature. The work is full of ideas which, anticipated or not, carry the mark of an original imagination. Moreover, although fanciful, Kerényi does not simply step off into the air. He always has some evidence, although what he does with it may be surprising. In spite of this, the general effect of this work is that of a personal essay, not of an objective study; there is little if any consideration of contrary evidence, of dissenting opinions whether actual or possible.

The result is that we are not likely to be convinced of anything here unless we were pretty well convinced already. For example, the study is haunted by persistent references to the lunar aspects of Hera and Prometheus. It would at least seem easier to prove the former than the latter (if one thing which is impossible could be easier to do than another thing which is impossible), and anyone who can believe after reading Farnell that Hera is the moon is entitled to go on believing it, but certainly Kerényi has not proved it. His new evidence is *Iliad*, V, 392-394, the incurable wound of Hera which is analogous to the ever-renewed wound of Prometheus and betokens moonship in both (pp. 16-17, 22-23). True enough, the figures of Greek mythology move about in a confusing manner, exchanging shapes and names so that imagination is called for and demonstration is difficult; and here where nothing is certain the wild guesses of learned men must be considered temperately since they may not be so wild after all (that Prometheus is in any way or shape the moon appears likely to remain a wild guess). Still, demonstration, by reason of the bewildering complexity of the whole matter, necessitates the setting forth of evidence in the grand manner, as has been

done, in their different ways, by such scholars as Rohde, Bapp, Jane Harrison, Farnell, and Cook. This is not that sort of work according to that sort of method, nor is it meant to be; it is the presentation of much intuition with some evidence. We can take or leave the conclusions, but whichever we do we must go outside the limits of this book in order to justify ourselves, since here we are told rather what Kerényi believes (in itself worth knowing) than what the accumulated evidence must force anyone to believe.

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE.

RICHMOND LATTIMORE.

HERMANN FRÄNKEL. *Ovid, a Poet between Two Worlds*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, Univ. of California Press, 1945. Pp. x + 282. \$2.50.

Just as we have too many books about Virgil, some of them quite repetitive, so we have too few about Ovid; yet Ovid, although obviously a lesser poet, is a more various one. In particular, he tells us more about more sides of Roman life than does his great contemporary. (This reviewer would not go quite so far as Émile Ripert, who says flatly that Ovid is "des poètes antiques le plus proche de nous,"¹ but it is easy to see what Ripert means.) A new and solid account of Ovid is for every sort of reason most welcome.

Professor Fränkel, who has been teaching at Stanford since 1935, wrote his book as a *parergon*, a labor of love. Ovid has long been, it would appear, a hobby with him, and he has clearly given to the subject that special sort of enthusiasm which most of us bestow upon some topic not strictly, and as it were professionally, our specialty. (As Hamlet says, every man hath business and desire.) He enjoyed writing this book, he told his publishers, "more than anything before."

The arrangement, a very successful one, is as follows: an opening chapter is given to "approach and perspective," five (Chaps. 2, 12, 13, 16, and 18) are biographical, and eleven deal with individual works. These are of varying lengths, and the proportion of summary or description to criticism varies a good deal also. A relatively fixed proportion would probably have led to artificiality and diffuseness. Not everything (not, for example, each individual metamorphosis) is discussed; this, too, is probably wise.

These chapters occupy 166 pages and are followed by 92 of valuable notes. Nineteen of these latter pages bear the heading, "Index to Ovid," but half of the nineteen consist of three convenient summaries, with page references to the text, the matter being rearranged under the following headings: "Ovid's Life and Literary Career," "Ovid's Personality," and "Ovid's Art." These in turn are topically subdivided (his tastes, his habits, his views, etc.). Then

¹ *Les Tristes* (Classiques Garnier, Paris, 1937), p. xiv. This delightful book is not mentioned by Fränkel, who has probably not seen it. It is difficult to obtain.

comes the index proper ("to works or passages cited or discussed"), and finally, a general index. This unusual arrangement is an exceedingly practical one; a further helpful device is the series of page-headings used in the notes, e.g., "Notes 18-23 for pages 79-82, chapter 11," a type of rubric which obviates much groping (for the notes themselves are numbered separately by chapters, an increasingly common system, easier for compositors than for readers). The matter of the notes is varied, the quality high, the style unpretentiously readable.

Probably many readers will, like the present reviewer, look first in the text for the justification of the publisher's assertion (and Fränkel's own) that the book is "somewhat heterodox." Aside from the important fact that Fränkel loves Ovid (as some Ovid-scholars, one fears, do not), the heterodoxy consists chiefly of defense of Ovid's "rhetoric," and of pointing out that critics have unduly stressed this characteristic. Thus, in a sensitive and stimulating interpretation (in Chap. 11) of the Deucalion-Pyrrha narrative, after remarking that "Both stubborn anger and stubborn matter are conquered by the pious and loving couple," Fränkel says (in his note, p. 210), "If Ovid were not the sensitive poet that he is, but the clamorous rhetorician he is commonly represented to be, he would have thrown his fine point in every reader's face. Actually, he is often so discreet that many of his best ideas go unnoticed." Although the word "commonly" in this observation might prove hard to justify, the rest is very illuminatingly demonstrated in connection with many passages, some of them quite familiar ones. Indeed, Fränkel excels particularly in telling us things that we have somehow overlooked, but whose truth is obvious, once it is pointed out.

"Somewhat heterodox" he apparently feels himself to be in suggesting that the song of Orpheus in the underworld is overrated; he says in its favor that "Ovid was striving, not for rhetoric, but for the utmost candor and simplicity," but finds himself constrained to admit that "later Ovid allows the delicate idea to be drowned in the din of elaboration." He protests (p. 36) against critics who term the *Heroides* "*suasoriae* in verse," and he urges that we should seek, as few critics have done, for hidden meanings in the poems (pp. 72-3), although granting frankly that "if we do probe and bore through, we shall not always come upon a substantial core."

Aside from the (occasionally faltering) defense of Ovid against the charge of too much rhetoric, and from the stimulating suggestion of hitherto unrecognized implicit meanings in various passages of the poems, there is little heterodoxy in this whole volume. Little heterodoxy, but much acuteness, and a wholesome tendency to ponder over passages that others have too hastily passed by. This does not mean that every episode is discussed; like the rest of us, Fränkel has not only his favorite Ovid passages, but those to which he does not respond. He does not, for instance, discuss the Pyramus and Thisbe tale (and perhaps nobody will complain), and of the exquisite Philemon-Baucis story he says with what sounds suspiciously like a most inappropriate condescension, "from the point of view of Hellenistic taste the story deserves the renown in which it is held."

Well, *de gustibus*. The disparaging comments are few, the genial

ones many; these latter are often admirably developed, their enthusiasm is discriminating, and its grounds are most persuasively displayed. It would take more space than a review can afford to expound or even to list all the passages in which Fränkel succeeds in communicating his own insights and his own enjoyment. (A good many of these are in the notes, an unexpected habitat.) The discussion of the *Ars Amatoria* (pp. 55 ff.) is a good example of critical wit and wisdom, and the prefatory observation that "the critic who tries to interpret the work feels more than ever conscious of his own clumsy fingers" is too modest, though everyone who has tried to interpret this poem will understand what is meant.

As to Ovid's biography, we find little that is new. About the causes of Ovid's exile Fränkel does not refuse to speculate, but he does refuse to venture far from what little we know. He not only guesses, as others have done, that the affair of Julia and Silanus was somehow a part of the story, and thinks these lovers may have "met on premises owned by the poet," but admits that we know nothing circumstantial. On the other hand, the assertion that Ovid probably "died, or ceased to be able to write poetry, no later than in the first half of the year 18," is carefully and persuasively argued (pp. 254-5).

The discussion of Ovid's style is soundly based on knowledge of Roman taste; Quintilian and the two Senecas are aptly cited, nor are they too late to fit into the argument. Of textual criticism there is not much, but what there is deals with genuine cruces. A somewhat extended defense of *Amores*, I, 11-14 (which Lenz thinks interpolated) is not only persuasive in itself but has a bearing on the essential nature of Ovid's poetic imagination. In like manner, the proposed emendation of *celer* for *dolor* in *Heroides*, XIII, 104 is not only well defended but well worth proposing.

Though there are lines in Ovid which strain Fränkel's sympathy, there are none which strain his understanding. He prefaces an instructive discussion of *Elegy*, I, 7 (p. 18) with the remark, "We must not forget that we have to do with Southerners." If this sounds Victorian, it is not really so. There is only one way to say this sort of thing when it has to be said, and we might note that Judge Woolsey, in his famously un-Victorian decision on James Joyce's *Ulysses*, used much the same language—"It must always be remembered that his locale was Celtic and his season Spring."

The numerous bits of translation from Ovid which naturally occur in the text are Fränkel's own, and he says of them that they are "intended to render the bare meaning of Ovid's lines, with no attempt to reproduce his art." They serve their purpose. (Truth to tell, we have not a great deal of truly poetical translation of Ovid in English; some Dryden, one or two bits by Longfellow, Phillips Barker's *Lover's Manual*—what else?) A fair sample of Fränkel's rendering is the following:

I would have you hold your peace rather than boast that you put
an end to it.

Whoever announces too often: I am not in love, is.

Possibly in the desire to avoid stilted language (and he has successfully avoided it) Fränkel sometimes goes (in his text, not in his

translations) to the other extreme. The following phrases, in their context, jar. "Love won out" (p. 219), "Ovid put it on so thick" (p. 205), "to dwindle down" (p. 114), "to get so thoroughly messed up" (p. 113), "he can take it easy with his poetry" (p. 156). Once or twice the idiom is faulty: "declared the couplets as interpolated" (p. 188), "singled out for breaching the mancipation" (p. 68). And I think that "clair-obscur" (p. 265) sounds more *recherché* in English than "chiaroscuro" would have. I note two misprints. "Petameter" (p. 195) is merely grotesque, but "densissimima" (p. 225) appears in a metrical discussion and is for the moment disconcerting. In the same passage (p. 226) "rhyme" seems to be the wrong word.

But these are flyspecks. There is not a thoughtless page in the book, nor an unprofitable one. The paper will take ink, and the typography is excellent.

BEN C. CLOUGH.

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R. HACKFORTH. *Plato's Examination of Pleasure. A Translation of the Philebus with Introduction and Commentary.* Cambridge, At the University Press, 1945. Pp. viii + 144.

This translation of the *Philebus* derives from a suggestion of F. M. Cornford and follows his method. There is an introduction on the date and purpose of the dialogue, then a translation, divided into sections, each section being preceded by a discussion of its significance. There are numerous footnotes and a scanty index of names. The text followed is Burnet's with a few duly noted changes. The translation is usually accurate and smooth—occasionally so free as rather to conceal the bare bones of Plato's argument. The interpretation is not argumentative but modestly persuasive, following Jackson, Bury, Taylor, or Cornford for the most part, but making a good point now and again so quietly that only reference to previously published notes makes clear its originality. At any rate we have here a valuable guide to the *Philebus* for students of Plato in English.

Hackforth in his preface expresses distaste for purely philological labor and refers the reader to Bury's edition of 1897. Who is qualified to cast the first stone? Yet it must be confessed that without a full acquaintance with existing studies of Plato's avoidance of hiatus and favored clausulae, no discussion of the date of the *Philebus* can be convincing. When a thorough study is made, I shall be surprised if it does not become clear that the *Philebus*, like Books 3 and 4 of the *Laws*, belongs to ca. 364 B. C., just before the second *Epistle* of Plato. Though Hackforth did not accept this letter as genuine in 1913, it almost certainly in my opinion contains a reply to questions raised by Dionysius after reading the *Philebus*. Hackforth's dates for Plato's later dialogues are impossibly late. He would assign to 354 or later the interest in Sicilian affairs that appears in the introduction to the *Timaeus* instead of to ca. 367, when Plato's interest had suffered no great setback. In the third *Epistle* Plato actually says that he began work on the *Laws* at Syracuse in

367, and the work was well enough known in 354 to inspire a slur in Isocrates' *Antidosis*. See my discussion in *T. A. P. A.*, LX (1929).

Furthermore, failure to note the primary protreptic purpose of the *Philebus*, which was addressed presumably to Dionysius, like the first *Alcibiades* and the discourse on drunkenness in Books 1 and 2 of the *Laws*, leaves many things in it much more of a puzzle than they need to be. It was part of Plato's protreptic method to provide enigmas and to lead pupils to seek the light for themselves. Dionysius was conceited and might be provoked to study by such a subtle labyrinth of theory as the *Philebus*. Such a work can never be explained on the assumption that its purpose is exposition. The odd name *Philebus*, which could mean lover of good cheer as well as lover of youth, is probably itself a rebuke to Philistus, whose name might seem to claim that he was a lover of knowledge. Certainly the name Protarchus, first ruler or first mover, was well designed to convey a challenge to Dionysius.

In 17A Plato's insistence that analysis must precede an attack on the world of experience, in other words that Dionysius needed education before proceeding to enact reforms of government, was just what provoked the explosion described in *Epistle* 3, 319C. I suggest that the slow mover from one to many is the one who stops at dichotomy when he should go on at once to trichotomy or beyond. Plato's three illustrations of one, many, unlimited are "confusing" to Hackforth because he is thinking of scientific or logical analysis only. Plato's great difficulty was, however, in persuading his pupils to move from the level of the sensible through the realm of science and mathematics to the kingdom of *nous*—active intelligence or creative imagination. He is in fact concerned to illustrate the analysis of sounds, first as sounds and nothing more, then as musical sounds which are measured and arranged in unified patterns that can be studied mathematically, then the study of sounds in a way to arrive at an art that may serve creative imagination—*grammatike* or literary composition. Art recognizes or produces a unity whose significance depends on purpose or knowledge of the good. This is of course not stated explicitly, but it agrees with the series *aisthesis*, *dianoia*, *noesis*, that is found in the divided line of the *Republic*. It is probably also the subject of Plato's enigmatic explanation in *Epistle* 2, 312E. Both there and in the *Philebus* we find the king (28C *nous*) and the second (59C) class of objects. There are three grades of mental function in Plato: sense, science, and intelligence. The movement initiated by intelligence is a sensible movement capable of being observed from the three levels of sensation, measurement, and spiritual insight. Only on the highest level is the mind creative, but to be creative in the world of sense or motion, it must also operate in the middle world of accurate formulas or mental tools. One and many are found on all three levels, but the single purpose of the creative mind is also contrasted with the infinite chaos of unorganized and passive sensation. Between the two lies the plural but not infinite realm of active conceptual classification without complete purposive integration.

Probably Plato's later insistence on truth or reality as an ingredient of the good (64B), which has been found puzzling, was

intended as a hint to Dionysius that noble projects must be realized if there is to be any real good in the world. Plato was himself afraid of being found to be mere *logos* (*Epistle* 7, 328C). Again the ranking of goods in 66A might be illustrated in terms of Dionysius' project of reform: "You must put first the welfare of society, second the technique that will produce welfare, third intelligence to see the ideal, fourth knowledge of techniques, and fifth the pleasure that accompanies such activity. Never mind the rest." Thus Dionysius would be encouraged to seek first some objective goal.

At 56A there should be no emendation of *φερομένης*, for in *Tim.* 80A we find the same word used of the traveling sound that is judged harmonious or not. I suggest *ἁρμονική* for *ἀδλητική*. A spot in the middle of the word would account for the corruption. Besides, the reference to a moving target as hard to hit is appropriate. We still speak of hitting a note in vocal music. On the other hand, I should at 66A adapt a suggestion of Bury and read *χρὴ νομίζειν κτῆμ' αἰδίων ἡρῆσθαι*, "we must hold that an everlasting treasure has been secured." Thucydides' *κτῆμα ἐς αἰεί* is not the only phrase of his that is echoed in Plato.

I have compared Hackforth's translation with that of Fowler in the Loeb Library and have noted a few more cases in Fowler of a not quite happy choice of words. On the other hand Fowler is right at 61E where Hackforth's note shows that he, like Jowett, mistakes the construction: "Suppose, if you like, that we mix them first and see whether they are enough, etc." "That has my approval." At 13D the quibble of Socrates seems to be: "The extremely unlike is extremely like, being extremely like the extremely unlike." At 28B Protarchus in the Greek would avoid not "making mistakes" about Socrates' contestant, but being guilty of an offense against *nous*, that is, guilty of *ἄνοια*. At 50E the connection is: "mixed, whatever the agent of compulsion may be." Even Apelt misses this. At 15A I venture to suggest that *διαίρεσις* means "division into parties" or "sects" rather than logical analysis. But add *τε* after *μετά*, an easy and satisfying emendation. Translate: "These and the like are the onenesses that are the chief occasion of strife and of controversy with division into sects." Compare *Epistle* 2, 313B: *ἡ πολλή μοι πραγματεία περὶ τοῦτο*.

The *Philebus* is probably the most difficult Platonic dialogue to interpret with confidence. Disagreements about details or even the purpose of the dialogue are natural. Mr. Hackforth has done his work well.

L. A. POST.

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YAKOV MALKIEL. Development of the Latin Suffixes *-antia* and *-entia* in Romance Languages, with Special Regard to Ibero-Romance. *Univ. of California Publications in Linguistics*, I, 44 (1945). Pp. vi + 41-188.

Dr. Malkiel is, together with Bruno Migliorini, one of the rare scholars in Romance today who, in a systematic manner, study the

origin and growth of word-formational patterns in their relationship to cultural history and stylistics; of the two linguists, Migliorini concentrates more on his native Italian and on its recent development, while Malkiel takes a comparative stand, tracing the early history and pre-history of Romance suffixes—with "special regard to Ibero-Romance." The present study is summed up by the author as follows:

The purpose of this study is to demonstrate that from the outset there was a marked divergence in the development of the two kindred suffixes. Owing to the nature of the *-ere* verbs, to the coexistence of adjectives in *-ens* and *-entus*, both of them producing abstracts in *-ntia*, and to the crystallization, at a later date, of a closely coherent group of formations expressive of the fundamental concepts of the Christian doctrine, all of which happened to end in *-entia*, this suffix was represented abundantly in late Latinity and succeeded in firmly entrenching itself in the written and the oral language. As a result, *-entia* survived organically in most Romance dialects, in purely vernacular or semilearned formations betraying the early influence of the Church. In regions with a deeply rooted, preëminently urban culture, such as Provence or León and Portugal, the vernacular variety (*-ensa*, *-ença*) easily absorbed its learned counterpart (*-ência*); conversely, in those countries in which scholarly and learned activities were introduced artificially and at a late date, as in Castile, the erudite form normally prevailed. An entirely different course was taken by *-antia*. The traditional stock of derivatives ending in this suffix was limited from the beginning and did not notably increase in Church Latin; aside from a few counted formations, the original *-antia* thus died out in Romance territory, as is witnessed in Roumanian. Only in Gallo-Romance, particularly north of the Loire, did there remain a nucleus strong enough to spread, as new analogical formations began to spring up. The propagation of this new *-ansa*, *-ance* gained momentum toward the close of the first millennium. With the invasion of Italian and Spanish provinces by French armies and the supremacy of medieval French culture, the new *-ansa*, *-ance* began to radiate from France, the region most thoroughly alienated from the traditional Latinity, toward the more conservative southwest and southeast. As for learned *-ancia*, it was almost unknown in medieval Spanish dialects, except where it arose through confusion or hypercorrection, as in Leonese. The influx of words in *-ancia* (coinciding with the second influx of words in *-encia*) dates, so far as Spanish is concerned, from the powerful revival of interest in Latin literature (particularly the classical authors) which characterizes the early fifteenth century.¹

¹ For reflections of *indulgentia* (> O. Sp. *endulencia*, etc.) in modern dialects, cf. *Anales del Inst. de lingüística* (Cuyo, Arg.) II, p. 10.—I do not see why Rom. *ușurință* "levity" should be difficult to explain (p. 53): it is derived from *ușor* "light" which contains Lat. *levis* (**le* > **ie*, cf. the old form *iūșor*) + suffix *-[u]șor*, cf. *Pușcariu*.—I ask myself whether the explanations hitherto offered for OS *femencia* "obstinacy"

This critic can say only that Malkiel has proved his thesis by an overwhelming wealth of material collected, at first hand, from late Latin and Romance dictionaries and texts. No one can fail to be impressed by this outstanding example of *akribia* and scholarly devotion to a task which might have daunted others. I may, however, be allowed to take exception to the exhibition, en masse, of the whole of the material collected: the almost 200 closely-printed pages of this work, including lists of every attestation found, together with lengthy bibliographical notes, may seem to offer an overdose of monographic specialization, out of proportion with the importance of the results reached. But, perhaps to the author, a young linguistic enthusiast, it appeared necessary to overstress the "importance of being earnest" in a time when superficiality tends to invade the precincts of philology.

LEO SPITZER.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

Armenian Quarterly, Vol. I, Number 1 (Spring, 1946). Pp. 124.

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In a foreword entitled "Introducing the *Quarterly*" (pp. 1-3), the editor, Mr. Constant Zarian, states its objectives as follows: "to make known abroad the results of the research of scholars in Armenia, and, on the other hand, to assemble the contribution, of such paramount importance, of those Armenists residing in Europe and America."

On the whole it can be stated that the first step taken toward achieving these objectives has been highly successful. Contemporary investigations of many aspects of Armenian scholarship have been assembled under one cover and scholars of many nationalities have shared in the common effort. But this is only a part of the *Quarterly's* achievement. To the great benefit of many scholars, it reaches far beyond matters which might interest the specialist in Armenian studies alone. Students of comparative linguistics, of the early history of Asia Minor, of the history of the Byzantine Empire and the Christian Church, will all find material in the *Quarterly*

(cf. note 132 ad III) are valid: Meyer-Lübke's proposal of *vehementia* with *f*- instead of *h*- does not account for the dropping of the first syllable; Huber's suggestion of a blend of *vehementia* + *fervença* must cope with the difficulty that the latter form is not attested before Santillana. Perhaps we have to do here with a hypercorrect *f*- pronunciation of the initial *v*- of *vehementia*: Menéndez Pidal, *Orígenes*, pp. 259 f. attests such a pronunciation in Mozarabic Latin texts (*Fascones*, *fitiatus*) and again in the Araucan pronunciation of Chiloé (*fotella*, *frazo*). But, of course, we would welcome other cases of hypercorrect *f*- in Old Spanish. That *vehemens* is no popular word in tenth-century Latin has been proved by Clyde Pharr in this journal (LXVI [1945], p. 255).

which pertains to their studies, and the scholarly authority of the contributors makes it highly unlikely that their views could be neglected or ignored with impunity.

It is, therefore, the chief purpose of this notice to call the attention of students of antiquity in fields other than Armenian to this new journal and to indicate how it is already serving their particular interests or is likely to serve them in the future. This will be done by giving a brief description of each scholarly article in order that the reader may know the kind of material treated and the author's principal conclusions. But since the *Quarterly* is not devoted entirely to scholarship, although its first issue is preponderantly scholarly, it will also be necessary to discuss the articles therein which are of a purely popular character. Here it will be less a question of making them known for their intrinsic value than of discussing the problem which they raise in regard to the *Quarterly's* editorial policy. This is a matter important to scholar and layman alike and to pass it over in silence would be to give the reader a false impression of the journal as a whole.

The articles of a learned nature are these:

Henri Grégoire: "An Armenian Dynasty on the Byzantine Throne" (pp. 4-21). The author discusses the Byzantine emperors of Armenian descent who occupied the throne in the seventh and the beginning of the eighth century. Their efforts to effect a religious compromise between Chalcedonian dualism and Armenian monophysitism are analyzed and within the general framework of political affairs, military considerations are seen as the particular cause of this policy of conciliation.

Louis H. Gray: "The Armenian Acts of the Martyrdom of S. Ignatius of Antioch" (pp. 47-66). The main body of this article consists of a translation into English of the Armenian text of the *Acts* with explanatory notes and references to other versions. A statement of the relationship between the Armenian version and those in Greek and Syriac and an evaluation of the *Acts* as an historical document serve as a preface to the translation.

Sirarpie der Nersessian: "Image Worship in Armenia and its Opponents" (pp. 67-81). Combining her knowledge of Armenian archaeology and Church History, the author has traced the position which was taken by the Church of Armenia in regard to iconoclasm from its first manifestations at the end of the seventh century to the Armenian reply to Pope Benedict's list of errors in the middle of the fourteenth. It is concluded that the church held a position of moderation between the iconoclastic extremists and the Byzantine propensity to icons.

Giuliano Bonfante: "Armenians and Phrygians" (pp. 82-97). The author begins by summarizing the historical evidence regarding the Phrygians and their kinship to the Armenians. He then presents the linguistic evidence for twenty-one coincidences between the Phrygian and Armenian languages to illustrate his statement that "linguistically speaking, the relationship between Phrygian and Armenian seems clear."

Maurice Leroy: "Armenien 'i miasin'" (pp. 98-100). In this etymological study published in French, the author identifies the component parts of Armenian *i miasin* which appears in the earliest

texts with the meaning "together," "simultaneously": *mi* < **sem* (cf. Gk. *μία*); *s*: radical consonant with demonstrative force used frequently in Armenian to form adverbs (cf. *ast* "hie," *aysr* "hue," *asti* "hinc"); *a*: usual connective between two elements when the latter begins with a consonant; *in*: added to *mi-a-s-* to increase its demonstrative force. The use of the preposition *i* before an adverb to form an adverbial phrase is confirmed by parallel instances.

Alexander H. Krappe: "The Leucosyrians" (pp. 101-107). Recalling that the Leucosyrians considered *Σύρος* a mythical ancestor and a son of Apollo and deriving the element *συρ* from the I.-E. root **swal* "to shine" (cf. the Vedic sun god *Sūrya*), the author infers the existence of an Anatolian sun god *Σύρος* from whom the Anatolian tribe which was settled in Cappadocia took its name. About the middle of the third millennium or earlier, a part of this tribe would have occupied the upper valley of the Tigris, adopting the Semitic language of the conquered but retaining the Indo-European name of its sun god in the form *Aššūr*. Those who remained at home acquired the name *Λευκόσυροι* by the addition of the Hellenic root *λυκ* to their original name. The author interprets *λυκ* as the Hellenic equivalent of Anatolian-Iranian *συρ* and sees in the compound a formation similar to Fr. *loup-garou*, Germ. *Lindwurm*, Schalksknecht, and Engl. *lukewarm*.

So much, then, for the longer scholarly articles. They are followed by a section entitled "Of Books and Men" (pp. 108-116). The first item in it is a translation into English of Professor Grégoire's French Preface to Miss Der Nersessian's book *Armenia and the Byzantine Empire* (pp. 108-110). I assume that the translation was chiefly undertaken in order to familiarize the lay reader with Professor Grégoire's observations on the book in question. For it was evidently felt—and quite rightly, I believe—that an article which was meant for scholars, such as Professor Leroy's etymological study in the same issue, did not need to be translated. This brings me to a point which I shall elaborate below concerning the inadvisability of mixing the popular and the scholarly in the same journal. But be that as it may, if the translation was to be made, it should have been made competently. Professor's Grégoire's gracious words should never have appeared in an English translation which is thoroughly awkward, often incorrect, and sometimes unintelligible.

The following item is a review by K. V. Trever of B. B. Piotrovsky's *The History and Culture of Urartu*, published at Erivan in 1944 by the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic, Institute of History (pp. 110-113). Since the reviewer gives the title in English substantially as I have given it above without any indication that the book is written in a foreign language, it can be assumed that we are here dealing with a work that is written in English. For this many of us who cannot read the native tongue of the Russian author or do so only with difficulty must be truly grateful. Apparently Piotrovsky wished to reach a larger circle of western readers with his latest book than he did with his monograph on the same subject published at Leningrad in 1939 and written in Russian.

The review is more descriptive than critical. This is all to the good since the book may not be generally available for some time. Never-

theless, it would be unfair to the reviewer not to record that he does evaluate the importance of Piotrovsky's major conclusions and points out some of the problems which they raise. The reviewer thinks very highly of Piotrovsky's methods of investigation and publication. The European or American archaeologist of today, however, may not think it an exceptional achievement that "the book is supplemented by eight indices which permit the student to survey at a glance the plan and character of the work, and to find quickly any piece of information desired—a luxury to which our authors have but rarely treated their readers." Does the reviewer really consider comprehensive indices a rare luxury in archaeological publications? But then what does he mean by "our"? Again, the reviewer speaks of Piotrovsky's work as "a fine example of the new type of historical research that uses a thorough study of all available sources to recreate the political history of a people without, at any point, separating it from the history of that people's culture." Here I am quite willing to believe in the high quality of the work, but I have some difficulty in accepting the method as something "new." "How new" would naturally be the first question. But "new to whom" might also well be asked.

The third item will be discussed below.

The fourth is a biographical notice serving as an obituary of the scholar Hovanness Zavrieff by S. Asvadouroff (p. 116). It terminates the section.

A transliteration of the Armenian alphabet (p. 117) and a reproduction of the by-laws of the American Armenian Cultural Association, Inc., together with its Certification of Incorporation (pp. 118-124) conclude the issue.

Within this abundance of scholarly material, there are two pieces of writing of a frankly popular character. The first appears among the longer articles and is entitled "Letters from Armenia" (pp. 22-46). In it, the author, Marie Shahinian, gives a lively and sympathetic account of life in the Armenian Republic today. It is quite delightful reading but illuminates Armenia's past only in so far as the present must reflect the past as its creator in some degree. It raises the question whether it is a wise policy so to mix categories and to combine within the same journal impressions of the present with scientific investigations of the past. Inasmuch as the rest of the longer articles are written for scholars by scholars and many of them could be understood only with difficulty, if at all, by anyone who had not had a scholar's training, I am inclined to believe that a decision to make the *Quarterly* a purely scholarly journal would have been more profitable to all concerned. Surely Miss Shahinian's "Letters" could have found an appropriate place in one of our better literary magazines, and, so published, would have reached a far wider circle of readers; at the same time, more space would have been available for scholarship in the *Quarterly*. It is important, of course, that we should have information about Armenia's present as well as Armenia's past. But it is a fact that there are different ways, some more effective than others, of diffusing such knowledge.

The second popular piece is the third item in the section "Of Books and Men" (pp. 114-116). It is a review of Leon Surmelian's "I Ask You, Ladies and Gentlemen" by Nona Balakian. Sur-

melian's book is a contemporary autobiography or collection of reminiscences by an Armenian author. The review of it is placed between a review of a book dealing with the history and culture of Urartu and the necrology of a distinguished scholar. In this connection I am doubly sure that there is an advantage in categories.

But be that as it may, it should not obscure the fact that by far the greater part of the *Quarterly* deserves to be warmly welcomed as an important contribution to scholarship in a field of study which is not only rich in itself but also illuminates contiguous areas and interests. The classical scholar knows well the importance of Armenia in the political relations between the Roman and Parthian Empires. But he is not likely to be as familiar with the equally important part assigned to Armenia in later times by her same geographical position at the cross-roads of East and West and the character of her civilization and people. Names and elements changed, and Byzantine, Persian, and Arab occupied the stage. But Armenia was still the land where East and West met and contended, and where, in spite of foreign influence and occupation, characteristics of a national culture and the integrity of a national church survived. In turn, the Armenian, going forth from his home individually or in groups, carried abroad with him his inherited elements and the acquired elements which he had made his own and enriched many a community therewith.

The *Quarterly* has substantially increased our knowledge of several aspects of this chapter in the history of East and West, and it has also given us additional insight into the events and relationships which are the background of the whole. It is to be congratulated on its highly auspicious beginnings and the promise which it gives of continuing its good work for many years to come.

H. T. R.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

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